

Ross Dowson archives – correspondence -- 1962

- 01_03 Letter to Toronto Metro Committee of the Communist Party of Canada, Comrades: re proposal to protest US Justice Dep't. move against CPUSA
- 01_18 Letter to John Boulds (SWP-USA), Plentywood to an American comrade
- 01_31 Letter to Ernie(T.)re: Vancouver assignment
- 02_12abc Letter to Ernie, Mountain Spring Camp (SWP) re: Vancouver personnel, YSF, Fair Play for Cuba Cttee. defense work
- 02_13ab Letter to Arnold Linden, Montreal re: possible guilt of victims of the Moscow Trials?
- 03_06ab Letter to Ernie: re decision on Vancouver personnel and problems
- 03_07 Letter to Metro Cttee. of CPC re proposal to form defence committee for USCP
- 03_13 Letter to Al Purdy, Ontario, notes re CCF and NDP
- 03_13Bab Letter to John (R., in Europe) re: developments in Canada; his *reports on Germany*
- 04_02abc Letter to Ernie (T.) re: Vancouver matters: Ruth T. and YS Forum newsletter, the two branches; his possible role as BC organizer
- 04_12 Letter to *Root and Branch*, Friends; good Cuba article
- 04_23 Letter to the Editor, *Toronto Globe & Mail*: re: "Mr. Dowson, former Trotskyite" news article slur
- 04_26ab Letter to Dear (sister) Ruth (Dowson) re birth of twins to Hugh and Claire; anti-Bomarc demonstrations
- 05_08 Document: Letter to All Branches and Members at Large: launch of *Vanguard* subscription drive (P. Kent)
- 05_14 Letter to Mauno (Nikkanen, Montreal) re: invitation to Toronto meeting with Joe Hansen (SWP) speaking
- 05_26 Letter to Shelley re: *Vanguard* tour has left
- 05_26B Letter to Al Purdy, ON re: election campaign and fund drive

05_28ab	Letter (incomplete) to John (R., in Europe?) re: Toronto movement developments; Dick F.'s progress; May Day banquet
06_10abc	Letter to comrade Peng in answer to charge of isolating comrades of ex-Branch 1
06_10B	Letter to Mauno Nikkanen, Montreal re: national tour, election campaign, Montreal contacts
06_11	Letter to Ernie (T.) re progress of national tour
07_16ab	Letter to Ernie on tour, re: the tour success with subs, the Vancouver situation, anticipating international trip
07_18	Document: Toronto LSA minutes, Secretary Kent
07_22	Letter to Al Purdy with a quote from Brecht
08_14	<i>(Transcript of handwritten letters from Europe)</i>
Aug. 14:	<i>(Paris, France)</i> to Cliff Cotton, John (W.), Jerry Houle re: critique of Vanguard, articles, books & papers sent to Canada, (IC) Fourth International dispute with SLL (GB)
Aug. 24-30:	<i>(transcript of letter from England)</i> to Comrades, re: Meeting Ernest Mandel; note re FI dispute from Brussels
Aug. 25	<i>(transcript of letter from England)</i> to Jerry Houle, John (W.), Cliff Cotton re: articles being written on British events
Aug. 27	<i>(transcript of letter from England)</i> to Comrades, re: problems with SLL leader blocking access to its members
Sept. 16	<i>(transcript of handwritten letter from Paris)</i> to Alan (Harris), Jerry (Houle), Cliff (Cotton), John (W.) re: proposed change to profile of Teamsters caucus; a mistake to abandon joint FPCC/CCFC joint Cuba functions; his Europe itinerary
Oct. 18	<i>(transcript of letter from Paris)</i> to Comrades, re: French CP meetings, meeting Chinese comrades in Switzerland, need to translate Algerian document "Tripoli Program"
08_30	Dear Dowsons, from Brussels, Belgium: historic spendor; RD's financial problems, books bought, and an Aug. 20 postcard from Paris – it's galleries and bookstores

- 09_04 Postcard from Blackpool, England to Claire & Hugh (Dowson): at Trade Union Congress; some class conscious language but very passive and more staid than Canadian labor congresses and more staged than even NDP conventions
- 09_10 *(Handwritten airmail letter to R. Bullock, Vancouver from London, England)* Comrades: on the move in England and Europe, missing and meeting comrades; the IS-IC parity committee (FI); later note next to address on delayed re-unification of FI *(in which RD played a prominent role)*
- 10_14abc *(Handwritten letter to Ruth & Reg, from Paris):* extending his trip for further meetings; disappointed with British section's position on Cuban Revolution and sectarian stance in relation to BLP left; RD cut off from meeting SLL rank and file; queries about the Canadian movement
- 10_99 *(Undated, found in October)* Letter to Pi-lan and Shu-tze, re: anti-Vietnam war and Cuba defence work in Toronto
- 11_05+9pp Document *(plus covering letter to Comrade Burns)* **Minutes of October meeting of the IC (FI):** "Statement of International Committee meeting held Oct. 27-28, 1962" by R.D. (representing minority tendency within the IC – SWP (US) and Chileans absent)
- 11_14 Letter to Mary H. Wiek, New York, re: Dave Dellinger speaks to Fair Play for Cuba Ctte. banquet in Toronto
- 11_14B Letter to A.W. Bailey, San Diego CA, an old-timer in SDP
- 11_23ab Letter to Joe and Reba (Hansen, SWP) re trip home from Britain
- 11_26ab Document: **"Vote Socialist, elect Ross Dowson Mayor "(Toronto),** sponsored by the LSA; "The issue is survival itself" plus 6-point program and biography; "What is the LSA?"
- 11_26B Leaflet: "A Challenge: as mayoralty candidate I challenge the PEC of the T&D Labour Council to a public debate"
- 11_28 Letter to the Editor, the *Toronto Telegram*, from RD candidate for Mayor (Toronto) re: excluded from speaking at candidates' meetings
- 12_01 Letter to Gwen MacEwen (poet)
- 12_09abc Letter to Ernie (T., Vancouver), re: center's personnel, Cuba work
- 12_10 Letter to Comrade Colwyn, Edmonton asking for news

- 12_24ab Letter to G. Preston (Gerry Healy?) Secretary of IC (FI): enquiry re calling of an International Congress of the IC and the basis of representation and financial arrangements
- 12_26 Letter to Farrell (Dobbs, SWP) re publication of IC documents
- 12_27 Letter to Hannah L. re RD's arrival home.

January 3, 1962.

Toronto Metro Committee of the
Communist Party of Canada,
24 Cecil Street,
Toronto, Ontario.

Dear Comrades:

The US Justice Departments' order that the Communist Party of the United States register as "foreign agents", thereby, in effect, outlawing for the first time in American history a political party is of grave concern to the Canadian liberal and radical movement.

Every Canadian is aware of the massive impact that actions by US government and political circles have on the capitalist administrations in Ottawa and in the provinces. It would be a sorry day for US opponents of nuclear war, for the trade unions, for the Southern Freedom fighters for civil rights in the US if the neo-fascist anti-communist "crusaders" get their way. And it would be a sorry day for Canadians too.

We believe that Canadians have a big stake in the fight for civil rights in the US--all Canadians--whether in agreement or in disagreement with the political views of the Communist Party of the US. And we would like to aid in the struggle for the defence of the democratic rights of the Communist Party in every way possible.

In Britain a Committee for "Democratic Rights in the USA" has been set up with plans of public meetings and demonstrations. We do not know your opinion on the feasibility of such a project but would like to investigate such a possibility in consultation with you.

We understand that February 1 will see the case move to the next stage in the courts. It would be an inspiration to the persecuted and in keeping with the best traditions of international solidarity if at the time or some other appropriate time protest demonstrations were held in Toronto, Vancouver and other Canadian cities - possibly picket lines in front of the US government offices. We are anxious to collaborate with you in such actions and anticipate your earliest reply.

Fraternally,

Ross Dowson

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cmcmcmcmcm

xxxxxx

Jim - James P. Cannon
SWP(us) leader, (ret)

81 Queen St W, Toronto
January 18, 1962

Castro-?

John Boulds (SWP-USA)?
Plentywood

Dear Comrade John;

Good to get you short note and the clipping about the worries of the US Big Shots over the developing labor party here in Canada. Hope you noticed that we used it in the recent issue.

The bosses are worried about the potential of the New Democratic Party (a rotten name eh waht!) and the brass of the party are worried about the potential of our paper the Vanguard. We have whipped up a bit of protest out there in British Columbia and forced the brass to retreat a bit in their moves to proscribe the Vanguard. You will read all about it in the next issue. Tongith the NDP is having its first real test in Ontario---there are five by-elections being voted on as I write you this note. So we will get a bit of a picture what the immediate future holds.

I hear that comrade Jim has come through his eye operation with flying colors and is now being fitted out with glasses so he will shortly be in full swing with us again.

Hope this note finds you in good health and taking things a bit easy while our splendid youth group takes over and the Latin American masses stir things up for Uncle Sam. Quite a scoop that Joe Hansen sent into the Militant last week from Brazil--his interview with the Brazilian Castro.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

January 31, 1962

Dear Ernie

I hope that we will be able to decide who is going to go to Vancouver this coming summer-fall. Alan showed me a portion of your letter to him. I note your dismissal of his going, with surprise to say the least. He also tells me that some of the leading comrades in Vancouver are up for expulsion according to your letter. I hope that this information comes from Ruth T and not Ruth B--that the latter is not already as has been their longstanding practice bypassing the PC and begun to operate on the basis that the decision has been taken in your favor.

I am dropping this note at this time so that we might yet be free to make the decision on its merits as we see it here...if there is still time.

The ~~Fixx~~ Fair Play banquet was a big success--biggest that we have yet carried off. Almost 200 persons served--including the Ambassador. Charles Weir was there looking the place over and it would seem that we have blocked attempts to by-pass us with another committee.

Will write fuller later

fraternally

Ross

February 12, 1962
Toronto

Mountain Spring Camp (SWP-
USA)

Dear Ernie; (Late)

Bought ~~xxxx~~ chest of four filing cabinets for the N.O. a few days back and spent a day or so working on the national correspondence file which has just been piling up ever since we arrived here and what do you think I found. Paddy had been pressing me for one--Wohlforth wanted one Ken had been seeking one----a little package of the Fourth International label buttons. Came across some of your correspondence to me from your first stay in New York and then a lot of the tour correspondence with photographs. The joker was when it came to the PC meeting yesterday I had been able to pull all the PC meeting minutes together but the minutes of the very last meeting.

Never took up the matter of who should go to Vancouver as Alan was unable to attend and if we had left the meeting until ~~same~~ night this week Jerry would have been unable to attend. I did not think that we should even have a discussion on the matter with Alan absent. A very interesting meeting. Just after we agreed to not discuss Vancouver colonization Jerry swept in with the tour and its personnel. As it is now we have Nick and Ken committed and of course the comrade who will be going to Vancouver. So off hand Jerry moves that both you and Alan go to Vancouver. And having said it he argued it right down to the bitter end forcing a vote. All of which shows that if the truth be known we really cannot afford to send anyone--with a man like Jerry here forcefully presenting himself as a leader and John and Cliff while seeing what is right when argued out before them being so lacking in leadership qualities. Boy is Jerry lacking in judgement and sensitivity. And what a bull headed man. And the terrible part of it is that he hasn't the slightest tiniest idea of his problem which is most unusual. Most have some kind of concept of their shortcomings --but not he. From then on in it was necessary to argue everything right into the ground...everything, he has no concept of retreat, no concept of compromise, a caricature of rigidity and formalism. And of course he was voted down every time 3 to one which creates an embarrassing situation.

Did Ruth T send you a copy of the Young Socialist Forum. Quite an achievement all in all and a considerable embarrassment to the right wing to have another left journal come out when they are moving in to proscribe Vanguard and Press. The youth comrades here are all enthusiasm--Dick is writing an article for it. However there is not too much thought here. There is a national youth paper of the movement which we are members--Viewpoint. The Toronto area NDY have done nothing with it. In fact I have only seen one or two copies. The East and West end clubs do not even get a bundle--do not subscribe to it, do not circulate it in anyway--do not write for it. All of which shows how little they are really integrated in and are part of the NDY. Following a discussion that visibly startled Cliff and John we have agreed that yes of course we should send congratulations to the Young Socialist Forum--we should send a letter of greetings to this journal which supplements the national journal Viewpoint that we should get a bundle for anyone in the club to pick up a copy. BUT But that Dick's article should go rather to the national journal Viewpoint that we must write right way and get a bundle of Viewpoint, start to circulate it get subs, submit articles to it.

Angus McPhee?

that we should not make ourselves--the West end and East end clubs that is partisans of Viewpoint.

A funny way of operating...this Young ~~paper~~ Socialist Forum. Didn't know anything about it until it arrived. It appears that Nick and Ken had just let the YS drop--had called no meetings and on the basis of discussions here had agreed upon ~~the~~ returning to rectify this situation. It appears that Ruth T had bucked them on this had been urging holding of meetings etc. But now suddenly we have a youth paper published by what is called a Forum with membership and which is completely independent of the NDY although it has the approval ~~and~~ of NDPers and is composed mainly of NDFers. All very interesting.

Havent heard very much about the charges and trial that is taking place in Vancouver. Angus in a note that dealt with many other matters tells us more than Vancouver. He is of course on the provincial council. A month or so ago an Alma Faulds of Oliver BC wrote in for a sub and asked for back issues. It seems she is on the council and is friendly to Angus. She wrote him last week asking advise. She is sympathetic to Vanguard, finds it interesting, considers the Bullocks workers and red baiting rather silly--dislikes the representatives of the Lion's Gate Club who made the charges. intends to have a fair trial because she was shocked that the Investigating Committee failed to interview the accused. Angus has suggested that she press for open hearings and insist that the defence have full knowledge of charges and evidence and to judge the affair on the basis of what is socialism and good for the worker, the NDP. He says that he will get down to the council meeting on the 17th providing that they decide what they are to do about fares at which time he will meet her.

Expect to hear shortly as I wrote them last week that we want an article for the paper--deadline is about the time you get this letter.

Tony is back from Cuba and the others should be back in a couple of weeks. Last week they wired Carson for \$200 to meet them as ~~in~~ Puerto Rico. She is speaking tonight at the East end youth--leaflets were distributed at the schools this morning. I gave her as best I could a bit of a hand on her speech. Hope it turned out OK as we hope to use her many places. She never met our comrades. For one thing she was there ten of her days without the address. I had given it to Ken and Nick and they spent about ten days in Monroe. When she left they had gone around to see them several times and found no one in but it is possible that they made contact after she left. Havent had a really good talk with her yet. But she was telling me that after she got back here and talked with the comrades she realized how uncritical she was when there. Her first comment on the morning she arrived was, Well Ross I am a socialist now. When I replied what do you mean weren't you when you left. She replied--Well yes but you know you always have some doubts but I havent any now.

But I see I must close. The forums are being well attended these days. Had our biggest success with our CP work last Tuesday. They had their big MR Campbell here for a speech, a large meeting at 300 Bathurst. We had the most successful distribution we have ever had at a CP meeting. Oh a few wisecracks and a fair number of refusals but the overwhelming majority took the paper with insert. About five of us attended. A good lesson. A real hotchpotch speech that in large part could have been given by Dieffenbaker--anti-Common market--pro Commonwealth. Right of the standard Douglas mass meeting speeches these days. ~~He~~ Ve y demagogic--extremely reformist with a few radical words. Nothing about socialism--dont think he used the word once. Nothing attacking the Tories as capitalist--or the Labor or Trade union brass. Not even a mention of the tremendous strikes that were taking place right then. We have to preserve the commonwealth connection. They had questions--so I put my hand up at once and got second choice. I challenged what is this commonwealth that Mr Campbell speaks about preserving--just another word for the British Empire--an relations laid down between master and slave--has been blasted apart and we have no interest in preserving. Need to orient Canada dont you think to trade with Cuba--with China and the workers states. He srted off mumbling--than

alking about need to establish of course fair trade relations--equitable ones
course not against trade with Cuba, China, even for it but China wont always
hungry and a market for Canadian wheat. In essence he held out that Canada be
bread basket for Britain. as if Canada was really an agricultural nation. You
now he didn't even say a word about Canada trade with Cuba--right now a big issue
th the Liberals Castro baiting Diefenbaker for not toing the US line. Alan
ked him for his opinion and the BR CP opinion of the Sinö- Soviet dispute--f
amed the question well and its importance. Campbell evaded it and of course c
me out for peaceful co-existence as war would be the destruction of civilization
a classic twist.

The picket at the US Consulate protesting the legal assault on the US
came off well for us--even though a week day noon hour we had five there--
mixed in with their 30 odd functionairies--from Tribune CP UE Mine Mill
PO etc offices--they were all there--Morris, Boyd, Ryerson, Buck, Kogan,
fir etc to total 41 all told. Actually pretty miserable and I told Buck so--that
was necessary to call a meeting of interested persons so that organizations
uld appear under their own banner and not be forced to appear what is known
a CP picket even if not formally marked as such...this old united front from
low stuff that proved so costly in Germany. I did n't say anything about Germ-
y or use the word united front from below but he yes yessed me friendly like
lsh who was actually incharge when I raised the matter with him said that it
ould be considered.

Yes the fir play banquet was a big success. And now we can really move
rward. We are now trying to see if Mowatt and other names will speak on a
atform defending Cuba trade, urging its extension. We are also thinking of
ying to arragne a big concert to raise funds for medical supplies to Cuba--
orn and Murdy of the poet circle would perform--probably get some folk singers
en possibly Douglas Campbell now in NY in a Chayevsky play. Then we are also
vestigating the possibility of holding a big July 26 meeting--maybe Mills, Sartr
me big shot from Cuba--- Everyone is pleased with the banquet and has the
eling that we can tackle big things. Nothing jelled yet

And have you read the latest Labor Review. If you havent you are in for a
prise. Well now the SWP will have to take the SLL on. The section on CUBA is
scandal--ignorant, absurd and downright dishonest--"a capitalist reform and does
t transend capitalist property relations in the countryside...the Castro regime
Bonaprtist in structure and petty bourgeois in composition..." And they end up
th the decalration that the FI no longer exists and the launching of a formal
ternational discussion commencing last month---topping it off with the facetious
mment that this entire issue resolution is their contribution to the discuss
n.

But I see I must close. The forums are being well attended these days
ve some good contacts---unfortunately all youth. John got to know the Parkdale
P leadership last week and inpassing heard many good words about you from
em. Attend an editorial meeting if you can next time in New York.

The Young Socialist Forum... affectionately... do not subscribe to it, do not
in a way... the NY. FoolwRöss... we have agreed that yes of...

81 Queen Street W

Toronto, Ont.

February 13, 1962

Arnold Linden
4780 Maplewood Ave
Montreal 26, P.Q.

Dear Comrade Linden

In preparing the mid-February issue of the Vanguard for the printer I had occasion to re-read the letters that you have been submitting for publication. Though we have little space I was going ahead with at least one of them

Now of course the letters column is an open one--contributions are not required to conform to the editorial policy of the paper. However I have decided not to publish those that are now before me as I feel that they are not a contribution to the needed discussion on Soviet developments from any serious point of view.

For instance when world opinion, when even those who were the accusers have conceded and agree with those who were accused that the Moscow Trials were frame-ups, that the persons who suffered untold miseries and death were totally innocent of the charge, you write "Isn't it even remotely possible that the German fascists were secretly utilizing the anti-Stalinists in order to prepare for their criminal invasion of June 22, 1941?" I am afraid, Comrade Linden that any serious paper and any serious person must start from a total rejection of your ineuendo

You "confess" that you are "completely in the dark...as to Trotsky's role in these events." Yet you wish a serious paper to publish a letter that continues that "it is unlikely" to your mind "that he was very innocent about what was going on." Don't you see that this could be used as a textbook horrible example of prejudice, and I would suggest ^{is impossible} for one who claims to be a supporter of the scientific methodology of Marxism-Leninism.

How can anyone still write as you do "Stalin in no way is any cleaner or dirtier because of the purges" when it was he who headed the clique who perpetrated these violations of socialist legality.

While I hesitate to defend my own article from your criticism in these circumstances I must tell you that in my opinion from your comments on the need to build up the Soviet economy I can only conclude that you really did not read it. In unmistakable English it identified itself with this need which Lenin and Trotsky, both, you can be sure clearly grasp. The theory of socialism in one country involved something else altogether.

I would suggest as a fellow socialist that before submitting material for publication, in the interest of your own good name and the clarification of ideas and the arming of the movement of which you are a part that you read and attempt to grasp the other persons viewpoint, that you investigate matters before making wild speculations and that you settle certain questions in your mind no matter how they

violate your previous concepts.

Of course you must investigate Trotsky's views before you are so bold as to cast an opinion on them. And have you read Khrushchov's 20th and 22nd Congress CPSU speeches?

I am enclosing a couple of items that you will find of interest.

Looking forward to hearing from you at a later date.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

March 6, 1962

Dear Ernie;

Well I managed to get everyone together on Sunday night to settle this matter of who is and who is not to go to Vancouver. Couldn't withstand the pressure any longer--Ruth B sent me a long letter accusing me--of course it started off with surely you are not ---of testing this young couple to the limit of their endurance testing them to the breaking point, their loyalty to the movement. I was seriously thinking of going to a psychologist to see if there were not some deep psychological barriers ~~unmistakably~~ preventing me from facing up to the possibility that you or Alan wouldn't be around here for a whole period. But I decided to save the money and we called a meeting and we made a decision and we decided that it was you that should go to Vancouver.

Now that I think of it I deprived you of the opportunity to break the news to Ruth. I wrote her yesterday as she had sent me two letters whose main motive was to hurry this decision up but which also touched on several other matters of importance. So it is possible that she will be telling you of the decision not far behind your receiving this note.

So it is done---and now you will be able to make all the rest of the plans. Ruth T asks if it is not possible for someone (now you) to come out before the tour would get there--to come out sometime not long after your school sessions are over. We have not taken a decision on this matter as we have not lined up the tour yet. When Ken O and Nick S left for their Latin American tour I had them both lined up but it is possible that Ken will renege. We will certainly be able to get another youth possibly Gord R or someone else but we need someone of experience, maturity, judgement--sounds just like you doesn't it--to handle the thing. This tour is very important as it seems that there will be a federal election and furthermore with the Cuba and Latin American material and experience of Nick and Ken we could hold a meeting almost anywhere we wanted. So the decision has been made now not the date--June or September.

The vote was unanimous on my motion. Jerry of course still held intransigently to his tow should go position--they will supplement one another--but voted for the motion Alan voted for but obviously reluctantly as he wanted very badly to go. So now you have our complete confidence--not to say that there are not many difficulties out there which will be a real strain. I opened up the minutes of the last branch meeting there this morning to read that they passed a motion "protesting strongly the apparent sneaking of PC minutes to persons who are not members of the party"--after I wrote a strong and unequivocal denial a couple of weeks back when Ruth and later Malcolm accused us of doing this. So we are still having the branch lined up against us, against the incompetent and I suppose dishonest center. Oh yes we are really building up a positive party attitude. We are having a social in the Co-op hall this Saturday. One of the audience got up last night and said that this was the first revolutionary speech he had heard since he came to Canada. One of the reasons why I wrote Ruth T right away was that I had sent a personal letter telling her why I was not publishing a letter of solidarity that she sent for the last issue as editor of the YSF and she had somehow heard that I was irritated that the decision on who was to go had slipped out of our hands there. In the process of these two letters she sent she referred to a discussion that they are apparently having which sounds like they are dumping the LSA for some type of broader left wing formation. I say sounds like for I am not sure. They appear to be talking about a broader left--as the LSA is now it is the Trotskyist organization in Canada--they are talking about organizing a broader left and either stretching the LSA to make it function in this way but more probably dumping the LSA and launching it under some other name. I wanted to get a word away so that they do not make a ~~damning~~ decision and face us here with an accomplished fact---as they did when they set up the hall you will remember. I am now I intend to write a long and friendly and comradely critique to Ruth T as a guide

waiting anxiously to hear what is going to happen.

Troubles, troubles troubles. Cliff showed me a letter from Larry N there where he boasts how they got the BC NDP to condemn the national paper of the NDY and refuse to circulate it. Larry goes on to the effect that if we are expelled we will be in a good position to build a real independent youth group. If you have the YSF and even more clearly if you have the second issue you will see how little they understand the orientation. By their standards and they are a semi-official NDP paper the Vanguard is a journal of the right wing. The edit on Argue is a scandal--the editors reply to a ~~letter which is a sectarian criticism of the NDP is outrageous~~ letter which is a sectarian criticism of the NDP is outrageous. I haven't had a real chance to study it which I certainly intend to do. But Ruth T is not getting any help from the adults in this--from the more experienced and wiser heads. Reg sent in an article with his name on it for the Vanguard--the first signed article that they have sent us. An article on a question of secondary importance and highly questionable as to line. A retail wholesale union on strike (Bill W's shop) picketed the teamsters for going through their lines. We defend the teamsters, attack the picket as a diversion and appeal and indirectly uphold the BC Fed and the labor council to intervene. But a few days later Bill W for reasons best known to himself sends me a couple of leaflets put out over the imprint of the BC Fed and the Labor Council attacking the teamsters for going through the Retail picket line. I write him my doubts about the article and he wires me to condense it for a trade union note and instructing me to rip into Argue "Blast him for quitting Fight Against Bureaucracy" he says. It is to laugh.

Yes it is to laugh for ~~the~~ Argue never ever did fight against the bureaucracy unless you call his running against Douglas such a fight. No one has heard from him since the August convention and there is not one word that he said in his defection that in anyway can seriously and honestly be construed to be an attack on the trade union or NDP bureaucracy. When he talks about domination by the leaders of the trade unions it is crystal clear--that he is talking about the NDP being a labor party, in its base--that it is a class party in its structure etc etc. I cannot see anything in the Argue defection for us other than what I wrote up in the edit. We have to slap him down right down. And ~~what~~ in what way pray are we responsible for him. Yes the edit is bad. The NDP youth executive is just asking for trouble by inviting Annette Rubinstein to address them--the only possible merit it could have would be to cut into the YCL but I cannot see that this would be worth it.

Well we are now on the griddle the charges have been made --opening on March 11

"that Bruce, R Bullock and Reg and Morgan have been disloyal to our party by joining with members of another organization in furthering the policies of Vanguard which policies are inimical to those of the New Democratic Party."

Everything is nice and calm here. Held the best forum that we have held in a long time last Friday--the hall was packed and 18 dollars in the collection. I am going to give the same talk in Hamilton on Sunday afternoon. ..to see what we can get there. and possibly the next week end in Oshawa. Have lots of contact these days. The youth recruited two more. Holding a social in the Co-op hall this Saturday. One of the audience got up last meeting to say that this was the first revolutionary speech he had heard since he came to Canada from Spain--yesterday he brought in five subs from his shop.

Only I see from the latest Newsletter that we have joined with the CP in covering up Jagan's sell out to British imperialism. I was glad to get your letter after the long silence that followed my note--it arrived March 1. And when will you be writing the branch? Got a bill from one of your doctors and your reassuring comments. But I must go

warmest regards

Ross

I intend to write a long and friendly and comradely critique to Ruth T as a guide

March 7, 1962
81 Queen Street West
Toronto, Ont.

Toronto Metro Committee of the
Communist Party of Canada
24 Cecil Street
Toronto

Dear Comrades;

On January 3 we wrote you asking your opinion of the possibility of launching a committee which would plan public meetings, demonstrations, etc., of Canadians in solidarity with victims south of the border of the US witch-hunters, racists and war-mongers. We expressed a desire to discuss with you and to collaborate with you in setting up in this country something similar to the British Committee for Democratic Rights in the USA.

We were pleased when you informed us of and invited our participation in the picket that you organized in front of the US Consulate on February 1 in protest against the persecution of the US Communist Party. We felt the time not too satisfactory and that certain actions might have been taken to ensure a larger turn out but participated to the limit of our forces under the given circumstances. At the end of the picket I personally spoke to Comrades Buck and Walsh urging that a meeting be called of interested persons to prepare for similar actions in the future and to ensure a much wider response.

We have heard nothing from you on these proposals.

But in the meantime a picket was mounted in front of the US Consulate in support of the Monroe North Carolina victims of a kidnapping frame-up. Because there was no proper organization in existence--it was also very hastily called --while successful it was quite small.

Now we have the US State Department's blackmailing announcement of intention to continue its death-dealing H. Bomb tests.

We think that these developments prove the correctness of our proposal. And we would urge you to take it up and contact us as soon as possible to discuss what can be done to implement it. We anticipate your reply

comradely

Ross Dowson
for the League for Socialist
Action.

March 13, 1962
81 Queen St West
Toronto

Al Purdy--RR 1 Ameliasburg, Ont.

Dear Al;

Thanks for the ~~two~~ poems that you sent in. Showed them to Milton. He was very much impressed. Asked me for the one on the survival training for a reading. I now must get it back for the coming issue. Would you mind if I sent the other poem to a NDP youth paper on the West Coast?

Glad you liked the Vanguard. Yes we did help to launch the NDP--not in any official capacity--quite the contrary. We attempted to convince many socialists who had been around the CCF to not hold onto a sinking ship but to pitch into the NDP which we conceded in advance was headed up by pusillanimous types and saddled with a woefully inadequate reformist program but nonetheless was a labor party--a class party--and that therefore all socialists were required to be an integral part of it. This of course did not give us any grace in the eyes of the NDP leadership for there was nothing that they wanted so much as to be rid of the socialists. Their hatred for us approaches insanity--for they are afraid that our support of the party substantiates the big business charge that the NDP is a slow boat to the Canadian socialist revolution. Their acceptance of us or hostility towards us, their likes and dislikes do not influence our attitude to the NDP at all. We want to be with our class to go through the experiences with our class which we are convinced bears the future of society on its shoulders. Enclosing a clipping from a Vanguard just before the NDP founding convention.

Now that you have heard Silone and Plievier I am sending a couple of other items I think you will enjoy. The Istrati and Ehrlich books are out of print and irreplaceable. I have just skimmed through our clipping file--~~+~~ had a distinct impression that we had a lengthy item on the post office sit in Vancouver. But I cannot locate it. No matter there is other material but not so readily accessible. It is buried in our files of BC CCF NEWS and Pacific Tribunes. Then of course the Globe and Mail, Star and Telegram are on microfilm, their morgues are open for examination and there are many books on the ~~xxxxxx~~ public library's end on our shelves with a chapter or so on it. Why don't you come in for a few days--you will have no trouble getting the data you want.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

March 13, 1962
81 Queen Street West
Toronto

Dick Fidler

Dear John; *(Riddell, abroad)*

Thanks for the translation of the poignant article on the funeral of Natalia. I posted it up on the bulletin board for everyone to read. According to a recent issue of the Militant the photo you sent in was reproduced in Bohemia, official publication of the July 26 movement, with some nice comments by the editors. I assume you got the credential alright.... and hope that it serves your purpose. I cannot see you crossing frontiers with a letter that is any more specific than the one that I sent you. And by now you must have got the small package that I sent you via book post. I couldn't see sending the Marcuse book first class. Have you had a chance to read it. I have not but it goes to you with good recommendations. Hansen reviewed it in the ISR some while back giving it a favorable interpretation as against Fromm's Sane Society.

Your letter was extremely interesting but I failed to find even mention of the most important thing of all---that you are coming back to us this summer or fall. Dick or someone else told me about this decision of yours. And I must say I was extremely glad to hear it. You see your comments about the psychological-political difficulties ~~xxxxxxx~~ you had last fall disturbed me considerably. How little we know you and how little you know us. A serious shortcoming that must be overcome as soon as possible. Not many revolutionists can survive in the circumstances into which you have been thrust. Not only ~~xxxx~~ have you been deprived of any contact with the working class movement but you have been deprived of the contact with the class that the party can give you through association with workers active in the class struggle. You have been thrown into the worst possible milieu. Did you ever have the opportunity to read Trotsky's In Defence of Marxism and Cannon's Struggle for a Proletarian Party. Cannon particularly emphasizes the great cadre preserving role the party as an organization plays in periods of adversity--and its essentiality for those who have no real roots in the working class movement. It startles me to read of the difficulties you had and to realize that I was totally unaware of them. What do you think I am here for. A movement that doesn't know how to preserve and develop its cadre has little possibility of adding to it. I am certainly looking forward to your return for I know that you have a most important contribution to make.

The youth are in excellent shape. For the first time I feel that they are really coming to grips with the orientation of the NBP Youth. I think they now have 19 members--are effective in two clubs and are ~~making~~ establishing firm relations with the rest of the movement. I feel that the working is coming out of the hit and miss stage and taking on a broader and longer range character. There is a fine atmosphere of comradeship, of confidence

You ask me what I think of your accepting an associate editorship of the CUCND quarterly--a hint I see of your return. Do we need to give an answer, a solid commitment at this time. Since you will not be returning until the fall I would prefer to stall on this. The next few months it seems to me are going to be crucial ones for the CUCND and all the other anti-nuclear arms groups. As you will see from the next Vanguard

Feinberg has made the record for a national referendum on nuclear arms for Canada. He did so in a keynote speech to the national radicalism hazards convention here a couple of weeks ago. It was turned down as a campaign project by the convention. A leading NDYer who is a strong supporter of this demand is now touring Saskatchewan where we think there is a strong possibility of getting support--he will be returning anyday now. But the anti-nuclear arms on Canadian soil campaign it seems to me is approaching a crucial phase. It is hard to say how important CUCND will be on campus next year. This summer or fall will see a federal election in all probability. This should give the New Party work a real lift. I would doubt that your membership is in anyway insecure in the NDP. It is one thing for them to bar persons like myself, Jerry and Ruth Houle, Hugh my brother and Vern Olson and Mrs Osprey----and there will be more names next provincial council meeting and quite another thing to move in against a person like yourself. They know that expulsions etc do not do them any good. I would think that they feel fairly secure as they hurriedly turn the constituency organizations into electoral machines. The Russell constituency in Ottawa has just voted to meet once a year. Greenwood will be meeting only three times a year--they have struck off poll captains who are supposed to keep in touch with supporters and line them up for distributions and attending the odd meeting to hear the candidate. As for the youth you know they actually believe that a little tolerance is alright here ~~from my mind~~ they fully subscribe to the Shavian witticism that radicalism is a childhood disease which is outgrown.

Found your report of the SDS experience very enlightening. There is no information of the German working class movement available over here. You wouldn't know that anything at all existed. Oh yes the Pabloists. Did you read the last Labor Review with its wide-open attack on the SWP on the IS--which the Newsletter has been on every opportunity denouncing in a way that can only be totally incomprehensible to its readers. Well this morning I received a copy of a most amazing letter that the IC which held a meeting on Feb 10 and 11 has sent to the IC. It talks in terms of reopening relations with a view to reorganization and reunification of our international forces. Totally incomprehensible--can anyone even the IS take it serious. Incidentally Hansen left Europe February 8 not knowing anything at all about the IC meeting on the 10 and 11th. But by now you know all about this and its significance...since I gather you will get this note upon your return from France.

I haven't sent you the report on Latin America that I promised for the simple reason that Hansen has gone off on a national tour without drawing up any detailed internal report. But for some reason the British have reproduced for circulation copies that they received of letters that Joe sent to Farrell Dobbs. We received a copy of the letters at the time but only one so I couldn't send them on. But here they are available and in the probability that you have not received them I am sending this bulletin on to you. The Hansen tour looks like it will be a big success. He is coming up here on May 19th and we are planning a banquet. I am anticipating that we will attract from 150 to 200 persons at the banquet which will bring our financial drive to a climax.

But I must pull away and get to work on the paper

warmest regards

Ross

April 2, 1962

Dear Ernie; (Tate)

That was a very nice letter that you sent to the branch--almost literary, practised in style.

I did not do as your March 9 letter suggested--write Hansen to see what gives with regards to the ISA. If I recall correctly we heard about some thinkings on this matter from a letter from Ruth T and another from Reg. And if I recall correctly we raised the matter in the last PC minutes. We have heard nothing further in response to our queries--Ruth made a short comment in a reply to show that she was cognizant of the importance of the question so I think that we can write it down as some thinking out loud. I think it would be bad if we were to take up everything that we hear about. At one time I used to but all it resulted in was my going bald. I see Hansen was up in Vancouver on the April 1 weekend to speak at the ISA hall. He will be coming here in a month and a half and if there is anything serious in this direction we should hear more from Vancouver and from him before his arrival if it is an emergency.

Took time out to write Ruth T a very length letter on the first two issues of the YSF--This is a much better way of dealing with their problems there--the paper is concrete, real, developed. I got a letter from her today but it makes no mention at all of my letter and she should have received it by the time she wrote. I thought her article on Alcock and the Peace Foundation was very good. Told her the paper is generally scholastic and academic--and does not sensitively reflect our orientation that the Argue editroail was a mistake. Yes the big problems is the adult comrades. I am sure they do not really help, for in fact they persistently demonstrate that they have no real "feel" for the orientation. For instance the notes that they send in for Around The New Democratic Party, last issue. The items about the defeat of MacKenzie is really quite valueless--all it shows is their petty hatred for MacKenzie--the others are no better. Cut it down. The items on the Lebourdais victory was a squib--fortunately I had a copy of the appeal they mailed out so I played it up. But should we complain , , , , , now at last we are getting the items so only now can we begin to seriously talk over the problems.

You will of course write nothing to Ruth T of this but she tells me in passing that in your letters to her you have been expressing some opinions to the effect that if Br I had been handled properly there wouldn't have been any trouble--that the Whitney's are really not such a problem.etc. I have just pulled out a note I scribbled after reading these comments to remind me to take this up with you. The note reads;

Dead on Arrival Some Are
Some are dead before Arrival

And Ernie Tate if you so much as let comments of this around anyone in Branch one or Branch two's hearings you are the one who will be dead real dead.

Dead before you can even get integrated, get into contact with things get started on the work that we have before us out there. Do we care about original sin, what things were like in the beginning and whose fault it is that things are now that they are. The cardinal thing now is that there is one branch upon which everything is going to be built. And this one branch is built on the basis of long protracted and sharp struggle with the others--a struggle which is not only close to the surface but right on the surface. No one will ever be able to work with the Branch there who shows any kind of conciliatory attitudes to the others. Some of the branch are petty in their hostility to the others and of course we meaning you do not need to indulge in any pettiness--we must try to keep it on a political and party building plane--but it would be suicide to show any kind of conciliatory, "aplaque on both your houses" attitude. We here are being constantly questioned as to our loyalty to Branch 2. There are all kinds of rumours and small talk going about that in some way we are conciliatory with the Whitney group. And the Whitney group is just no good in my opinion, including I am afraid Harold and the best of them. This brood has been raised on a terrible concoction of hatred, rumour, gossip and it would appear none will come out of it. I gather that Harold is giving nothing to the party, money, time or energy--just the barest minimum to keep a toe hold. They should boot him out if what I hear is true. We are going to have to do a job on them at the coming convention. Spent a day writing a long letter to Angus, whose ear Whitney has from long past associations. This matter is the first thing that we will have to settle at the convention. They are of course going to appeal the expulsions. We are going to have to do a job on them. I myself am convinced that Whitney is absolutely useless--all words--all talk. Lillian is a well meaning woman but trapped--really there is nothing there among all their associates. If they were in a totally different milieu, which they are not, it is not excluded that they could contribute something more to the movement. But this part of the old cadre is burnt out and the worst thing we could do from the point of view of the building of a new cadre would be to alienate those forces in Vancouver that have set themselves that task and who are most able with help to build it.

Remember Jerry Houle. He ~~himself~~ put himself right in the middle and both of them rolled over him and actually ^{drive} him out of town. He became completely useless --and hasn't recovered yet. Looks like he will bear the scars for life. The situation allows for no equivocation. The branch there is demanding our loyalty and correctly so. They do it in a somewhat petty way and they are continually questioning if they have it. Jerry sometime back wrote a very foolish letter to Nick S asking him for inside information on doing there, telling him to not be inhibited by any concepts of loyalty etc.

And what do you think of going on staff out there. What do you think of being a full time organizer. We need someone there in this capacity. I do not know how they are fixed for funds. Their headquarters doesn't cost them much. They seem to be growing and they have tremendous potentiality for growth. I was thinking of taking this matter up with the PC. For a period they were kicking in twenty dollars a month to the center but have dropped this. But whether this is due to financial difficulties or just forgetfulness I do not know. I think that they could finance an organizer, possibly we could help them for a period if necessary. Remember the subscription work that Jerry did out there--he was doing it for a couple of hours each day and it was working out to a couple of dollars an hour--why you could even keep yourself. Of course they would have to agree to who was going to be the organizer but I do not doubt that they would agree on you. I would imagine you are qualified or could soon become so.

And how do you like our enclosed pamphlet. Pretty good job eh what. Carson is quite a perfectionist. I think it will be very useful. We are having difficulty getting our comrades moving in and around the NDP. There are good reasons--most of the clubs have had nomination meetings and that is all---very little work is being done aside from that by the insiders. It looks like this election is going to see lots of red baiting--the Liberals are swining right to get at the right wing support of the Tories and the NDP is seeking respectability. Had an edit written on this for the last issue but didn't have space for it. There is a hostile atmosphere to leftists--I think I sent you a copy of the latest Sefton leaflet...the man who really cares. Then the office is holding back on membership--claims that there are so many in that it is having difficulty processing--all of which supplied another excuse for doing nothing. I am hoping that this pamphlet of Marx and Engels writings on the labor party will give some of the comrades a jolt. Get them moving. I raised a bit of hell with the waiter for membership cards before doing anything at last night's meetings and asked the director to have a report of the situation with the various comrades for the next meeting. The opening essay by Engels will be a revelation for many of our readers --such a simple exposition of the task before the unions and the need for political action. All in all I think it will be a good addition to our arsenal.

taken

Havent taken up the matter of the tour yet--who will be going on it and whether you should or can go on right through. Nick and Ken are not yet back from their tour of the Carribean. I think they are both in Vancouver right now and will be here in a couple of weeks. I was hoping that Nick would have been here longer as for all his talents he really knows very little about our ideas. He and Ken are well qualified to hold top flite meetings on Cuba and Latin America now. But we havent picked out the rest of the team and in fact have not yet been able to cinch a truck. Had a couple of good leads but they didn't work out--will try to settle the truck this or next weekend. A walk-in is out of the question it seems

Suprised upon enquiring of Alan that you have not yet asked him to liquidate your furhishings etc up here.--you mention this in your last letter. Dont know where you got that June or September idea on the start ing of the tour. Yes, I would think we will start about May 20 or so that is about as early as you can start to go North. Gordon cant go as he has a contract with McMaster University. Dick cant go either as he must work and make some money. Give me the date of your arrival and I will make an appointment for a few days later with the license bureau so you can try the drivers test

Hednsbee wants to come back--we have agreed after he has a talk with the executive--will hop things up in the teasmters. Might even recruit Donaghue of the CBRT. Cliff went into Osahaw when Reid told us they were hiring but it looks like we wont make it. Enclosed is a banquet notice--the biggest effort yet--anticipate about 160 persons. The goddamn stalinists have set up an opponent Cuba committee here. Held a meeting last week --all the CPers on Fair Play Executive are on this executive--they have no beef--just hopeless sectarians. Lots doing but I must get onto some other matters as I work the store tomorroee and speak at the foun that same night and I havent started to preapre anything.

warmest regards

real dead.

Doc

April 12, 1962
81 Queen Street West,
Toronto, Canada

Root and Branch

Dear Friends;

Your first issue won a good reception here. We are enclosing our money order for \$12.42 to cover the bundle of 23 copies that you sent us of the Winter 1962 issue. It seems an odd number to send us and we have taken 40% discount off—hope this is correct and agreeable to you.

Would you send us another 10 copies

A friend who is an activist in the local Fair Play for Cuba Committee was tremendously impressed by the Winter issue—particularly the article on Cuba "A Cuban Journal" by Maurice Zeitlin. He thinks that this article and perhaps the interview with Che would make a tremendous pamphlet which could get a fairly wide circulation. He wonders if you have kept the type or if you have thought of this idea. If not he is toying with the idea of asking you permission for his publishing the Zeitlin article. Would you let me know just as soon as possible what your thinking is on these propositions.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Ed 1205 Review V

Mr. Dowson, Trotskyist

In your report (April 23) of the Toronto anti-nuclear arms demonstration you refer to the Workers Vanguard and myself. According to your report, I am the publisher of the Vanguard and a former Trotskyite. I am a Trotskyist, period. It is my opinion that the body of ideas to which the name of Leon Trotsky as its greatest proponent in our times has been given, is Marxism in our times—Twentieth Century Marxism. While not known as a theoretician, I would say that the most able publicly known practitioner of this view at this time is Fidel Castro.

I am not the publisher of the Vanguard—not its financier or owner. I am its editor, something quite different.

Toronto.

Ross Dowson.

Good

The Editor

Toronto Globe and Mail

Dear Sir;

In your Monday report of the Toronto anti-nuclear arms demonstration you refer to the Vanguard and myself. According to your report I am the publisher of the Vanguard and a "former Trotskyite." This description of my views would seem to be yet another variation of other descriptions that have appeared in your paper that range from "self-admitted" to "self-professed" Trotskyist

By no means can I be described as a "former Trotskyite." I am a Trotskyist, period. It is my opinion that the body of ideas to which the name of Leon Trotsky as its greatest proponent in our times has been given, is Marxism in our times—20th century Marxism. Marxism is not only a series of established positions but a method. As the eminent American sociologist* so clearly points out in his just released but posthumous work The Marxists there is a continuity of thought from Marx to Lenin to Trotsky. While not known as a theoretician I would say that the most able publicly known practitioner of this view at this time is Fidel Castro.

The confusion of your reporter may possibly have arisen from the fact that I have not gone around beating my breast that I am a Trotskyist for what is to me a scientific definition has been utilized by persons not interested in politics as a science to smear me and my co-thinkers as something foreign to Canadian political life, if not some sort of cult. In so far as Trotskyism is a tendency, an integral part of the Canadian labor movement M.J. Coldwell was substantially correct when in his Toronto speech on the 25th anniversary of the CCF, referring to the diverse tendencies of its founders he said that "we had a small group from Toronto who were in reality Trotskyites.."

Then again the confusion may arise from the fact that the Trotskyists in Canada do not exist as a party. They are organized with others in the League for Socialist Action which is an integral part of the New Democratic Party—vigorous supporters and defenders of the NDP seeking as is their democratic right to win it to a class struggle policy and a socialist objective. Unfortunately against the interests of the party and in violation of their own claims as to its character the Ontario NDP leadership have refused my membership application.

Contrary to your report I am not the publisher of the Vanguard.—not its financier or owner. I am its editor, something quite different.

sincerely

Ross Dowson

C Wright Mills

24 1953-65 misc. corre

81 Queen Street West
Toronto

April 23, 1962

81 Queen Street West

Toronto

April 26, 1962

no we are getting our new truck ready for the national tour

Dear Ruth; *(Dowson)*

Well I suppose someone has dashed off the big Dowson family news of the next generation--that Claire and Hugh have had twins--girls--one slightly over 7 and the other slightly less than seven pounds. Hugh says that they are even better looking than Walter and Anne. Claire had only seen one when she phoned me this morning. Shyly she told me that this had better be the end--four babies on her hands now--three in diapers. Forgot to ask Claire whether they are identical twins. I ~~was~~ promised to go up to see her at the Wellesley Street Hospital, Sherbourne and Wellesley tomorrow at supper time before the branch meeting. So we will find out. Have suggested a few lines of action to meet the situation that will confront Claire as soon as they let her out. She assured me twice that she wasn't just going to be a baby ~~care~~ care-er.

What is the idea of sending cards on France from Spain.

I see they say that ~~portrait~~ is by Leonardo da Vinci. Very doubtful. I remember going through a large Phaeton book on da Vinci and was really astounded how few paintings even among those that they ~~designated~~ included in a volume on him were really positively identifiable as his. We are much better with Michelangelo who while not the careful technician painted on the much more grand scale.. You must not rush through the Sistine chapel ~~xxxxxx~~. There is no doubt that these murals are the greatest artistic creation in the history of mankind. I would go to considerable time and effort to see everything of Michelangelo's--nobody else, nothing come even near him.

I phoned before writing this line out to your establishment in Applewood Acres. Lois answered the phone and I can report that everything is in fine order. I asked her if she was going to take advantage of the situation to rummage through the basement and clear out half the old crap down there but she said she would not do so.

Everything is very placid here. The Bomarc missile bases will soon be in operation. A thousand Torontonians marched down Yonge Street on Saturday to the city hall protesting the coming weekends nuclear tests which will be spreading tons of death dealing fall-out. Rabbi Feinberg denounced our distribution of the paper to the demonstration. The paper reported the distribution and mentioned that I was a former Trotskyist. I wrote them a long and clever letter in reply--they cut it to ribbons but gave it a big play for all your friends at the Kodak to read Tuesday morning over coffee. 8,000 teamsters are on strike in Montreal and things are moving towards a showdown involving a gang of us this weekend. The election is underway for June 18th. Everybody is red baiting everyone else. The NDP brass is warning all the clubs about us and the NDP youth paper dedicated two pages of crap to confuse and scare everyone about us. Ann Sanders is giving advise

is continuing to give advise out by the bucketful and Pierre Barton is exposing how all the finance companies are defrauding poor and helpless people.

to a first man 18

But the sun has been shining the last few days. As I came down bond street past the ~~blackie~~ ^{blackie} house a robin was warbling, the sky was clear, the air warm so we are getting our new truck ready for the national tour

brotherly Dear Ruth;

Well I suppose someone has dashed off the big Dawson family news of the next generation--that Claire and Hugh have had twins--girls--one slightly over 7 and the other slightly less than 7.

May 8, 1962.

TO ALL BRANCHES AND MEMBERS AT LARGE

Dear Comrades:

The Vanguard speaks the message of Canadian revolutionary socialism, of Trotskyism. What we all want to say but due to varied circumstances that confront us as individuals sometimes we ourselves cannot say. It presents our viewpoint in a more rounded and more varied and more persistent way than we can as individuals. It is the most powerful builder of the League for Socialist Action that we possess.

With the federal election hundreds of thousands of workers are thinking, as they usually do not, in terms of the biggest issues of our times. While it is essential that we work in this federal election drive to integrate ourselves in the mass movement, we must find ways to take advantage of the unique opportunity it presents to us to spread the influence of the Vanguard. To this end the national office is recommending that we launch a national drive to extend the subscription base of the paper.

The Vanguard subscription drive should commence May 21 and end one week following the election results--on June 25th. The objective of this one month concentrated drive is to win 450 new readers to the Vanguard. We suggest that Toronto set itself the aim of gaining 300 new subs, that Vancouver win 100 and other points 50. The national tour will leave Toronto on May 21 and its efforts will be integrated along with the results of the efforts of the rest of the party in the reports that will appear in the Vanguard.

We should of course obtain subscriptions from everyone we know who might be at all interested - particularly those with whom we are working in the New Democratic Party and the trade union movement. In many cases however due to the general climate at this time we will have to do this with care. The bulk of the subscriptions will be gained by door to door canvassing, which, even where the security of our forces is involved, presents no real problem in a large city with widely separated areas such as Vancouver and Toronto. One of the best ways to obtain a considerable number of subscriptions and high calibre ones at that is to cover all homes in the area which are displaying New Democratic election placards. It would be valuable if many outlying areas which we normally would not do subscription work in were covered in this way.

The response to our appeal for funds to finance the Vanguard has been inspiring. Now that we are solving this question for the next year we must move out to firmly establish the Vanguard as the voice of the socialists in the NDP and the militants in the trade unions.

Fraternally,



P. Kent

81 Queen Street West
Toronto

May 14, 1962

Nikkanen (Montreal)

Dear Mauno
all

I hope that you will be able to come in this weekend. If I had had my wits about me last week I would have written you not to have come in until then but that it what Geroge and Helen might have advised you.

This weekend we are having comrade Joe Hansen here with us. We are holding a big banquet Saturday--with the meal commencing at 6 o'clock. We are anticipating getting somewhere around 150 persons to attend. If possible you should take a train that would get you here in time for the banquet. Then on Sunday morning Joe will be having an internal meeting with us. The next day our national tour pulls out

If you are a little pressed for funds dont let that stand in your way. All in all it will be quite cheap. And at anyrate we could loan you a few bucks until you get settled down there.

Looking forward to seeing you in time for the banquet.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

81 Queen Street West
Toronto
May 26, 1962

Dear Shelley

Sorry about not writing you earlier in response for the \$25.00 that you sent in a while back

Finally got the tour out of our hair here. They pulled out Tuesday afternoon. Best equipped yet. A new truck--to us. With a new super-structure--the box is longer so we rebuilt the whole thing and put a plastic skylight in it. Nick of course is our key man with his tour of Cuba and the rest of central America under his belt. We purchased a projector a screen and got copies of Vern Olson, Ken and Toni Foster's slides--so they are in business. This tour should go farther than any other in consolidating something for us. We plan to have people ~~xxxxxxkxkxwhannkthkpxxkx~~ arrange meetings for us on Cuba and even on a house basis. Still cold here and must have been quite cool every night they have been out so far. Probably in Sudbury by about now. It is the youngest and least experienced tour so far--with only one old timer Ernie.

Started the sub drive this morning. Got my name on the scoreboard with four subs--don't know if I am going to be able to go out many times this year. We are covering only those homes with NDP signs on them. Met prejudiced persons--who already think they know us--but this is of some value too even if we don't sell a sub--good that they see us in the flesh and hear us meet some of their crudest prejudices.

Things moving in Spain and Portugal again eh. Had a long talk with the leader of a Portuguese group here in Toronto a few nights ago. We might be able to make some worthwhile contact.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

May 26, 1962

AL Purdy
R.R. # 1
Ameliasburg, Ont.

First call for discussion of the your play Point of Transfer went out for Thursday night but Milt's mother came into town and so I understand it was postponed for a short while. Milt was down here with Gawn at the Forum last night and I happened to hear them discussing with various persons who were interested in working on the props, lighting etc. So it is underway even if slowly. The problem right now is that we are ~~working~~ working in the federal election campaign on an intense basis and we are grabbing everything that moves or breathes and trying to thrust them into the activity too. We have to take advantage of the present situation for the NDP leadership are not too interested in maintaining a regular organization--after the election everything will sink back--they want a mere electoral machine. In the past few weeks and the few ahead before June 18th we hope to make some very good contacts in various shops, unions and to come across persons interested in socialism--in our forums etc.

We have just completed our financial drive and have now moved into a subscription drive. This morning I was out speaking to workers who have placarded their home with an NDP sign. The signs will be gone by June 18th--and the streets will be workers homes but undifferentiated ones. Our banquet on the 19th was a big success despite the insufferable heat---the collection speech and the atmosphere was so good after Joe Hansen spoke on his Latin American tour that old Milt was moved to throw some folding stuff into the ~~pan~~ plate.

Drama eh what.

And our wandering ISA branch got underway on Wednesday afternoon. Four of the boys quit their jobs---we bought a truck, put on an elaborate superstructure, outfitted it with bunks, Coleman stove, pots pans and plenty of socialist literature-subscription blanks. And so it goes up here in the swamp lands.

Plans on the Thistles of the Baragan sound good. Don't see any reason why its demands cannot be met. Once they get solidly underway with the Point of Transfer I think more persons interested in theater will come around. Good to hear that you have some bread and butter in process. But shortly you will be able to live on the land. I hear ground hogs are good eating and I know that they are easily observed before the grass gets high.

fraternally

Ross

Loss YES no third page / unsigned
Dick Feller

May 28, 1962

Dear John; (Riddell)

I have been allocating space for over a month now for a letter to you but there is so much going on--never have anytime to read but the most pressing and immediate material. Everyone is busy--that is no doubt why Dick and none of the others have written you--for they are always talking about you, anticipating your return, etc.

Dick is a tremendous person and I am confident is going to make a big contribution to the working class movement. This opinion is even shared by Peg Stewart---she told Harry Kopyto the other day that he did an excellent job in the by-election a few months ago and that he would go far if "we" can keep him out of the hands of the Trotskyists. He has done a great deal of reading over the past period of our basic material--even has his old man reading Trotsky and Dewey on morality. He has good connections in the NDP in the East End--I was glad to hear that a couple of the best trade unionists go out of their way to discuss matters with him. He plays a good roll on the provincial council--very astute and sensitive I think but one of our customers who is also on the council thinks his life expectancy is short there. Right now he is working on the railway here--down at the Front Street yards. Yes, we have been talking about Dick going to McGill ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~--his folks would it appear like to get him out of their hair a bit. I am sure he is an increasing embarrassment in the circles of their friends...for Dick has a real revolutionary spirit which he no doubt has difficulty to suppress and for all his diplomatic skill continues to reveal itself. I myself think that it is a good idea as we know there are some important forces in Montreal which we have done some work on but need personal and continued contact. A Vancouver comrade has just been transferred to there and he won't be entirely on his own. As for you--I am sure that it would be a great pleasure to work with Dick on the Toronto campus but we are going to have others there. I myself think that it is extremely important that we make contact with the Montreal campus and NDP not to speak of the Gagnon group and provide aid for our other comrade who is at RCA Victor. We are going to have a very fine comrade at Toronto in the person of Jim O who I think you must know. We have another girl there Donny--a very fine type--an activist an enthusiast who is doing a real job in Fair Play--she is going around with Dick. So you will start off with the aid of two solid comrades on the Toronto campus on your return--and no doubt in short order we will form other good connections. Besides you will have a whole youth group here with you. An excellent one too...a growing one. Looks like they have a new member in a young mathematical student enrolled at Kitchener-Waterloo. A Real enthusiast who is helping us distribute our leaflet to CP meetings. and in our work in the NDP election campaign. The Toronto campus may ~~xxx~~ not be the most attractive area of activity in the next year but it is a most important one and the situation is very good here to make your work on it very satisfying and as rewarding as it can be. I am sure that many of your former acquaintances are anticipating your return--that they have had occasion to find the truth in many of the ideas you expressed there and the situation is going to be good. One of your friends, I do not recall his name has been around several times and upon my suggestion made one of his major essays--the democratic aims of the Bolshevik revolution.

We received our first letter from the tour this morning along with your note. They pulled out on Tuesday--the youngest and least experienced group that we have ever tossed onto the road. Ernie is the only experienced comrade. We are hoping to make this the deepest tour we have held. We will be holding meetings almost everywhere that we get the possibility. One of the four Nick, has just returned from Cuba--and like everyone who has been there is a great enthusiast. It so happens he is very capable in the art of imparting this enthusiasm to others. We bought a projector, a screen stocked them with coloured slides gleaned from several persons collections, supplied them with piles of literature and thousands of copies of the Vanguard and shoved them off. They are going to move through Northern Ontario fairly rapidly as we want to be in Winnipeg for at least a week before the elections.

Everyone here was just relaxing after the great success of our banquet for Joe Hansen and the wind-up of our financial drive. The financial drive was the best ever--we went almost five hundred dollars over our objective-Toronto raised \$1,532.04--the youth \$300 of it--they raised more and are sending it to the YS. When bang we launched our sub drive. First foray took place on Saturday--we decided to concentrate on houses displaying NDP signs. I got four-Pat got six--Joan got 3--the rest didn't do so well but with a little experience will. Very valuable Met a long time CCF-NDP opponent of ours and had a good talk with him which I think at least neutralized him. Of course in between everyone is busy in the NDP election drive. The right wing is so hard up in some areas that they are prepared to accept some of our hottest forces. Temple phoned Pat Mitchell to come out and give a hand--not once but twice and she is being accepted even though she is one of the expelled ones. AL E who when he offered his services to work in the campaign for almost nothing was confronted with the statement by Young-"When are you going to quit the Trotskyists" is mister big in Rosedale. Jerry Houle was around there and identified by one of the women in the office. But poor little Sparham is hushing up who he is so that they can get something done. In a few other areas they have been hard. But by and large they are hard up and this is tending to modify some prejudices. The campaigns are spotty. No unity of effort. Gallagher and Sefton are looting all the other ridings of any worker they can to come over and work in Broadview and Davenport-Dovercourt. Hard to say what is to be the outcome on June 18--with a rise in Liberal vote and decline in Tory support there is a good chance in many Toronto ridings. General impression is that there is not much interest and that the campaigns are effective in only a few ridings --probably the brass is going along with the concentration of effort idea.

I have wanted to send you a long political letter--taking up many of the important matters that you have been raising. But not yet. But a word on the problem of unification of the forces of Trotskyism. From what limited investigations that I have been able to make and what others such as the SWP have been able to make it seems clear to me that on the major political issues there is substantial agreement. Now of course there are differences--and I wouldn't for a moment question your opinions on the wide gap that exists on entry sui generis. Nonetheless I am for unification of our forces. It will be a unification that will be on the basis of entirely different relations than the kind Pablo tried to and actually did enforce. There are forces moving in the direction of Trotskyism on a world scale. We must provide a focus a centre. The British approach in my opinion is all wrong. My approach is that we want and need a unification--what has to be determined is--on what terms and basis. Is unity desirable and is there sufficient political agreement upon which it could be solidly based? While it is true that there are differences between the forces of the IC and the IS there are also differences within both forces and by no means small ones at that. To this day the British have proven unable to recognize a revolution

June 10, 1962

Dear comrade Feng;

Comrade Jerry acquainted me with your correspondence some while back—the delay in response to your enquiries and opinions is entirely on my shoulders.

I am afraid the picture of the situation that you would shape from Foster's and Whitney's letter would be false.

There was no collaboration or collusion between the PC and those comrades who formed Branch 2 leading up to and the actual carrying out of the division. This division was not the beginning of any conscious process of isolating and expelling the comrades in Branch one. The line of the last convention was not ~~carried~~ out behind the back of Branch one by the PC in collusion with Branch two. The last minute document was not the PC's document but two documents that first came to my hand as I stepped off the plane the very day of the convention originating in Branch one. These documents were rejected after discussion as running counter to the PC document which was adopted. The delegates from Branch one who accepted representation on the NC only under pressure agreed to abide by the discipline of the majority. Branch one was not dissolved at the time of the convention as Foster mistakenly has Bullock saying. A city executive was set up in Vancouver with representation from both one and two—the majority going to branch two. It was only after a complete paralysis and an ultimatum laid down by comrade Whitney that there be immediate fusion and a whole series of futile attempts by the PC to discuss the problems, and reestablish some kind of collaboration that the PC dissolved Branch one and instructed those persons desiring to remain in our party to apply for membership in Branch two.

A word or two with regards to the picture that comrade Whitney gives you of our forces. In Toronto we have double the forces he attributes to us. For some decade the Vancouver branch had hovered around a membership of 12 or 14 comrades. With the division a transformation took place. Branch one ~~remained~~ continued the sterile existence of old. Branch two set up a headquarters ~~which~~ assumed a regular existence carried on systematized work and has become a dynamic group of twenty odd comrades attracting a considerable number of youth. While it has many problems it is a vigorous dynamic Trotskyist group. Branch one has ceased to exist in any real meaning of the word.

Comrade Whitney's observations about a difference that he alleges was developing over work around the CP and periphery bodies prior to the division of the unified branch are quite new to me. I and three other Toronto comrades happened to be in Vancouver at the peak of the crisis that developed with the 20th congress CPSU. The branch as a whole was doing nothing in this area aside from an odd ofray by one or two comrades. In fact while to the south our comrades were at the peak of their regroupment work Vancouver where there were tremendous possibilities was significantly doing nothing. What work that was done in this respect in Vancouver at this time was done by four Toronto comrades who stayed in Vancouver for almost a full month for this purpose. To my knowledge there is not the slightest truth in comrade Whitney's observations that there are illusions in our ranks as to whether there is socialism in the SU and China and the bureaucracy there reforming itself. My impression is that the theoretical level of the Canadian movement is quite high. While it is true that there are not a great many information bulletins flying back and forth—which has always been a matter of great concern to comrade Whitney—there is an intense internal education life on top of the external educational work of the movement.

Ever since the division took place ~~in~~ the branch Branch one has been demanding the fusion of the two branches. Branch two is vigorously opposed to a fusion. To my knowledge there is nothing in Bolshevism that prohibits the existence of two branches in one city. ~~Unconstitutionally~~ Normally a division would be based on geography, on areas of work etc but there is no principle to my knowledge that would bar a division from taking place on incompatibility. I am quite well acquainted with the situation in Vancouver now for some twenty years. Prior to the division taking place I saw no perspective for this branch. This branch had never had an independent existence calling upon it to defend the full Trotskyist program. It had always been in the reformist CCF and in my opinion had got hopelessly lost in the small change of reformist politics and maneuvers. With the division a big change confronted our forces. What remained as branch one was left to stew in its own juices. What became branch two has given Trotskyism a vitality, an existence—a perspective in Vancouver.

Believe me comrade Peng a great deal of time and energy has been spent to attempt to realize a working relationship in a city executive. Branch one smashed the city executive with an ultimatum of fusion. There cannot be a fusion without good will. With this ultimatum branch one broke off collaboration. Fusion cannot be a substitute or a way out of difficulties found in attempting a collaboration. Where there can be no collaboration I find it difficult to see how a fusion is posed.

The question of the comrade in Branch one working hard or not working hard was never at issue. In our statement declaring the dissolution of Branch one and ordering those comrades who wished to retain membership in our movement to apply to branch two we went through some of the record, that is all. We pointed out that branch one made no contribution to the press fund at all—~~that was among other acts of sabotage~~ among other acts of sabotage.

Yes the PC never expelled the branch as a bloc or anyone of the comrades in it. It dissolved the branch and instructed the comrades to apply for membership in Branch two. We did not do so in order to enforce on branch two the fusion that branch one demanded and they had rejected. We did so fully conscious of the fact that some of those applying would be refused by Branch two—following which they could appeal to the convention. Some confusion has arisen due to the fact that what had been the city executive now divested of representation from branch one passed a motion of expulsion at the very time that the PC passed a motion of dissolution. The PC has rejected the city executive action and asked Branch two to face the individual applicants from branch one should they turn down their application with charges. They are bucking this proposal and we are in the process of working it out. As things now stand the various comrades from Branch one have been interviewed. I must say that these interviews have not been very satisfactory. Here is the report of an interview with Berching from the Vancouver branch minutes of April 27

"he could give no answers to direct requests to participate in the party educationals and activities, and in general being quite evasive on these matters. He apparently has no knowledge of the LSA as an active organization; said he was not aware of forums."

The experiences with the comrades who have been accepted in have been quite unsatisfactory. All three including Leslie ~~xxxx~~ made no contribution to our national fund drive. A coincidence? One of them Harold was interviewed by the executive for his surly ~~stiff~~ attitude. A report by one of our leading members follows—"Harold at one point did smugly remark that we did not understand the problems of business men, that very often they were shorter of cash than most workers, that he had been struggling to repay a business loan of \$75,000, had managed this and now he was worth a conservative estimate of 150,000 dollars and that he would not always be short of ready cash."

The Vancouver LSA carries on quite an extensive open, public activity. While all of the old branch one went through the formality of applying ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ they have not come around to these activities, identified themselves with them, participated in any of them. Oh, yes Comrade JH of the south told me that one of them came to the public meeting held for him which was attended by about a hundred workers to publicly take on the chairman--our branch organizer there, about the failure of the Vancouver Fair Play for Cuba Committee to conduct itself on the standards of activity that he thought it should be. The chairman also happens to be the chairman of the Vancouver Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

Yes, comrade Peng, I think that there is little or nothing there in what was Branch one, that there is little or nothing there for the Canadian and world movement. What we have is in Branch two. These comrades I feel have made the mistake of believing that organizational decrees can solve matters such as we have there. But our ~~issuing~~ organizational ukases of a counter character will not solve matters either. The comrades in Branch two would not accept anything ~~like~~ like "unconditional union" as you suggest it just wouldn't work out. If anything it would even make matters worse.

The PC is insisting that the comrades who have applied either be accepted or that charges be laid against them. While they are bucking against this I have every reason to believe that the comrades will comply. Faced with this necessity it is probable should those who have applied show a serious attitude that the bulk of them will be accepted. The failure of those so far accepted to take a positive attitude doesn't help matters but my recent reply to complaints that instead of complaining they lay charges against those accepted has already seemed to have had a salutary effect. When we see the charges laid against those who will be refused I think that we will be able to take a correct position.

I know that the attitude to both Birching and Leslie is of a conciliatory character. While their circumstances make it difficult for them to play a public role they could make a positive internal contribution. I must say that in the past Birching has let himself be used by Whitney. A couple of years back when the former could scarcely communicate in English I was surprised to learn that on Whitney's motion he had been made branch organizer. When I attempted to discuss this matter with the Whitneys---we had other capable comrades and how a comrade who scarcely speaks English could be organizer ~~of~~ a community where only English is spoken, I wondered---I was accused by the Whitneys of being a racist.

You see the problem is more difficult than it would at first appear. I would appreciate hearing your opinion of the above lines. On Wednesday I will be leaving to attend the SWP plenum. Then shortly I hope to be in Europe where I am anticipating meeting you.

with revolutionary greetings

Ross Dowson

Sunday June 10 1962

See
Undated 1963

Nick Kanen

Mauno Hittihauter
4077 Tupper Street
Montreal, Que.

Dear Mauno;

You will pardon the red typing --I have just put a new ribbon in the machine and ~~find~~ found that it is not working correctly.

Suprised that we have not heard from you earlier. Have you got lost in the flesh pots of Montreal. I know that it is famous across the continent. Old Man Cecil B DeMille used to visit the city and Lillie St Cyr quite often. But I suppose even that soon palls on one. I was hoping that you would forward your new address but have now decided to write you anyway.

The tour is well underway. I am anticipating word from them tomorrow morning telling us the details of the itinerary that they have worked out. We have been getting a very hostile reception from NDPers--many who were friendly to us before have clammed up. The brass have been doing a job on us right up into the north. On the basis of this experience I have suggested that they should reconsider their schedule which was determined by our decision that we had to be in Winnipeg for at least a week of the election campaign. By the old schedule they would be coming into Winnipeg but it is more probable that they have decided to move into Timmins, Kirkland Lake, Oranda, Kapuskasing etc. Sudbury of course was a great turmoil. Mine Mill supporters charge the paper with being pro-steel and Steel supporters with it being pro- Mine Mill. It is goin to take some years to ~~wound~~ heal the wounds of the struggle up there. Everything is in a turmoil--some of the workers oppose Steel because they say that it is strikehappy. Of course the immediate development that should cool the situation down a bit will be the counting of the vote tomorrow. The boys held a meeting on Cuba in Sudbury but it was poorly attended--four or five. Ernie says that Nick has worked up a really effective speech. The Soo is the first place where we can get a real feel of the NDP situation however--there is a big steel plant there--but we havent heard yet. Port Arthur is the first place where we can anticipate natives to give us a real hand

Everyone here is busy in two projects right now--the NDP election campaign and the subscription campaign that we have underway. In several ridings even some of our most suspect have been welcomed right into the campaign--they are terribly short of persistent workers. But there is a rotten atmosphere around the campaign here with that fantastic appeal that the top Ontario brass are making to the courts for power to stop the CP from supporting them. They including Douglas himself who started out strong on an anti-nuclear arms plank have become almost silent on this most popular issue. Of course, of course this plan k leaves them open to the McCarthyites--and of course they are out McCarthying McCarthy. I suppose the CP broke its ass to get three or 4 thousand leaflets around some of the ridings telling people that they were supporting the NDP. The day after the brass announced their appeal for power to take the CP to court the Star had a large article--interview with Buck affirming their position, that went out to perhaps 400,000 people. It is to laugh

the NDP is holding a mass meeting in OKEEFE center Tuesday which we will be distributing on a big scale. Some of them are positively hysterical that we should solicit persons with NDP signs on their homes for subs. A couple of girls trailed one of the fellows---another guy went right up to people for a period which Joe R was talking ~~xxxx~~ into taking a sub to red bait Joe right and left. Despite the shortage of time we all have what with our work in the ridings we have been fairly successful in getting subs for the Vanguard. Yesterday I was out with Pat Brain. He got 3 and I got five subs. Carson got 7. We have turned ~~xxx~~ up a few good contacts. Old Max Armstrong turned up two fellows who he thinks are very promising.

Havent heard anything from Vancouver particularly notable aside from the fact that they accepted their sub quota and are very busy in the elections.

But what is doing in Montreal. Were you able to contact Gabe Glazer and the local NDP. I see they are running a slate of candidates in Montreal. Shouldn't be hard to make good connections under such circumstances. No reports in the Toronto press about the elections except for the doings of Social Credit and the major boss parties. How~~xxxx~~ is the clipping service coming along. Cliff is out in the main room right now sorting out the clippings that we have accumulated as we are planning to be in a good position to come right off the press right after the election results are known. Ruth T has just forwarded us a batch of Vancouver itmes--including an excellent series of articles by Scott of the Vancouver Sun on his recent trip to Cuba. Very honest and favorable articles--he does a job on Gerald Clark of Montreal for his lies about the food crisis. Much too much material for our little paper so I sent them on to The Militant

Drop us a line first opportunity that you get

fraternally

Ross Dowson
81 Queen Street W
Toronto

June 11, 1962

11th

*Tate,
(on tour)*

Dear Ernie;

I am enclosing the twenty five you asked for--sent Ruth another twenty five. Ruth's address is Apt 302 2825 Cambie, Vancouver 9. Of course I wasn't sure where to send letters to you until this morning. Now you should be able to send us and her an approximate schedule. Enclosing a picture of her taken outside the Diefenbaker meeting in Vancouver. That little to do along with the one in Sudbury area got the Tories thousands of votes I would say. Saw the Vancouver meet over the TV one night here. They carried the demonstration right into the hall while Dief tried to speak. Naturally enough the Tories protested against a demonstration right in their meeting. Couldn't hear Diefenbaker talk but for the turning up of the PA system. Those two demonstrations plus Samliwoods action against Fleming speaking to the Rotarians made him a great proponent of civil rights--what a setting for his phoney Bill of Rights. The Stalinist hand was big in the Sudbury demonstration --I see that Dief and Gillis had the Fascist label stuck on them.

Glad to hear that moral on the tour is good. Was somewhat worried in the light of the limited sub results. Of course Nick has lots of bounce it seems to me so that we could carry the others over the hump. Des and Bill are having a good experience alright. Glad to see that you were able to carry the vote on rerouting the tour. That had to be the decision but I was hesitant about pressing it --it had to be decided by the tour. How are you making out on this test run as an organizer? I would imagine that things revolve around your leadership to a considerable degree. My impression is that there would be no real conflicts--that you are by all ways the most firm--that Nick is amenable and that the other two comrades feeling their inexperience would look for a lead. My chief feeling is that ~~knowing~~ from my knowledge of the team there would tend to be quite a bit of drift. I am sure that you can move into things incisively. Quite a heavy responsibility. I would suppose you have them ready for various possible developments--runs in with the police--the North Bay incident must have been a bit of a stunner for Des--there will be more as we go into NDP circles in Timmins area. How is the political educational work coming along?

Dont recall whether we sent the contact package first class. If we did and you received it opened we should have raised shit. First class mail is inviolate. Too late now--but next time. Nodoubt the police are watching us....but the election is in our favor. They dont mind the NDP getting into a stew about us--and beside they have to be more tolerant while there is an election campaign going on.

The comrades appreciated your letter very much--I tore off the last page. It would be good to have Des write or Bill.

Sorry that we didn't have a longer talk together before you pulled out

affectionately

Ross

July 16, 1962

Dear Ernie;

I think you will be alright with just the three of you. I very vigorously opposed Dave going--I have had the strongest misgivings all along and Saturday convinced me. Cliff had a sort of welllit will either make him or break him attitude. Jerry said nothing and Alan vigorously opposed Dave going. If we start to get into financial difficulties dont hesitate to write. I am serious in thinking that you should have a bit of reserve. I take it that Des has been sent on his way--this must have cut into the treasury. How did he take it? My impression from glancing through the cards is that he did not get into good stride in the sub work. I hope that he doesn't take it all as a defeat. The letter he sent here was rather touching. It has been a very large experience for him from the bits and snatches we get here. I intend to write him a letter tomorrow. It is not good that he is going into Vancouver without the tour. Things are popping there at a great rate.

Our May 3rd decision to take a roll call vote on a motion that charges be laid against the members of the now dissolved Branch one has revealed that we just dont have a national movement. Not one of the Vancouver NC members has cast his vote. At the same time you will recall we elevated Ruth from the status of alternate to full NC member. She has rejected the motion. Reg has said nothing but to raise all kinds of doubts about my going to Europe. This came up on the branch floor with Malcolm protesting all down the line even questioning the source of the funds to carry it out. Malcolm has not cast his vote either. Got a long letter from him with regards to the Bruce Hall incident a-bitter, sarcastic letter which cant even be answered. And so you see they just arent going to go along with us when it involves them and they are in disagreement.

We have decided to move forward. Jerry dismisses them--this morning said something about them leaving us to go over to Young--~~James~~ wants to leave things ride until you comrades get out there. But I disagree with this idea of leaving things ride. I think that it would be very bad for us to just leave matters and then force three or four recent arrivals into attempting to carry the ball for the movement. In my opinion we have to appeal to the sense of responsibility and loyalty of the comrades there to pull up. The authority of the national committee has to be established or at any rate the NC itself has to make every attempt to establish its authority itself. Besides the matter cant be allowed to drift much longer. The convention is not far away and this whole matter has to be dealt with prior to its taking place. We just cannot acquiesce to Vancouver's actions. They are organizational mad. The June 11 minutes read-- "Noted by organizer that no contribution to fund drive received by Les Maw, in spite of correspondence with him. Assumed membership dropped."

Ruth writes "If you insist in taking the matter out of the hands of the local then the PC should itself press charges against these persons--if you feel such action justified--and conduct the trials yourselves." Well we are now in the process of insisting that they cast their vote--that the NC take a position on this whole question. When we have got that I am in favor of issuing instructions to the branch executive to lay charges--to carry out the decision of the NC. We have to have a showdown here and now on whether we have a national committee or not whether we are going to try to build a national movement, a Bolshevik party or merely carry on as a ~~haphazard~~ group of dabblers who coordinate their activities when it suits their purpose and go their own ways when it doesn't. It is necessary that we settle this now as we have a real bloc of people connected with our movement, some for a lengthy period, whose are being handled in a way that is

with preparations on my own. I was hoping that once in Cuba that I would be able to get a lift from there to Prague. Joe is leaving the 26th and I want to be there or and then too so there is little time to make the various enquiries and book passage.

It seems to me that you are doing a very good job of taking over and handling things on the tour. An exceedingly high number of subs come in in your writing. Hope you are taking on the most important contacts. From here it looks like we ~~may have to be content with doing a rush surface job in BC. Bill will be leaving for school. And probably Nick and you will be tired. We should do as thorough a job as possible, take our time on the prairies. Saskatchewan must be at a high pitch and we should be able to hold many house meetings on Cuba. I am really expecting that through such meetings we can expect to form a real bond between ourselves and some key people who can start the ball rolling for us in their communities—circulate the paper, possibly with our aid run a class and lay the basis for a branch. How did Mrs Megovitch turn out 'Port William' and Trudeau in Winnipeg—all reports we have are good. With this our third tour we should be able to jell something~~ may have to be content with doing a rush surface job in BC. Bill will be leaving for school. And probably Nick and you will be tired. We should do as thorough a job as possible, take our time on the prairies. Saskatchewan must be at a high pitch and we should be able to hold many house meetings on Cuba. I am really expecting that through such meetings we can expect to form a real bond between ourselves and some key people who can start the ball rolling for us in their communities—circulate the paper, possibly with our aid run a class and lay the basis for a branch. How did Mrs Megovitch turn out 'Port William' and Trudeau in Winnipeg—all reports we have are good. With this our third tour we should be able to jell something

And how is your health—putting weight on? looking after your eyes—? no jars or jerks. Damn tired myself today—got up at five so that we could go out and distribute 'Annapconda' and other New Toronto plants. First time at Trains and at Continental Can. Surprising number of extremely youthful workers employed at Continental Can—think we might even get a sub out of it.

Hope to write the tour once more ~~before~~ from here before dusting Canadian soil off my feet for three months. You know this will be quite an experience for me. I wonder how Healy will meet me? We have sort of agreed that Britain is my area. Alan I haven't had the time to read up many things that I wanted before leaving—and there are a lot of things yet to be done here.

affectionately

Ross

TORONTO LSA MINUTES July 18, 1962

Chairman- Nelson--- secretary Kent Meeting convened 8:15

Minutes corrected --FPCC picnic July 29, motion minutes adopted as corrected--passed
no correspondence

Attendance--- ~~19~~ present 20

Membership and contacts--- Report by Kent of discussion held by Nelson and Adair with Rod D and his subsequent lengthy discussion with this contact last night. Rod D asks that his name be advanced for membership. Discussion. Motion that he be admitted to party passed unanimously

Educationals. Report by Robinson on forum given by Cotton on Social Credit. Robinson felt speech was very weak in analysis of the monetary reform theories of SC and contrast of the Marxist analysis of capitalism and the labor theory of value. Report by ~~W~~ Pryce on Bannon's internal educational on the Yugoslav workers council~~s~~. He felt that the question was handled in too narrow and isolated a manner.

Future educationals. Motion that the August 10 external on Algeria be moved forward ~~xxxxxxx~~ and transposed with the external slated for August 3. passed. Motion that the August 10th forum on Should Canada become the 51 st State be given by Scott passed.

Treasurer's Report--- For the month of June--pledges taken in \$130.00--total receipts \$208.82 Expenditures \$327.07 Cash on hand \$727.17 of which \$350 is in post dated ~~cheques~~ cheques.

Dues and pledges collected

Educational--- by Comrade Mack on Lenin's pamphlet What is to be Done

Drives--- Report by Pryce on subscription drive---two rallies--one on Monday night and one on Saturday morning. Total now stands at 190 subs. Pryce is of the opinion that with this Saturdays drive we will easily go over the 200 mark. According to a previous motion extending the drive, it closes July 22st. Comrade Paul is in the lead with Pryce close behind followed up by Kendall, Kent and Morgan.

NDP--- Report by Brock of his attempt to get ~~this~~ riding executive to pass a motion urging the provincial executive to organize actions in support of the Saskatchewan medicare struggle. Interest low--policy of national leadership report ~~to~~ be against. The youth picket was even attacked for designating itself as NDY but general approval. Scott reported on social gathering of some activists in her area--no enthusiasm for action behind medicare. Report by Paul that his constituency apparently getting ready for next election--while ~~his~~ membership refused both he and ~~and~~ George asked to be poll captains

Youth--- Miller reported on NDY picket at CMA last week. West End club held meeting inviting NDP doctor to speak on Medicare--attendance about 25, new contacts.

Press--- Cotton reported getting ready to go to press with next issue. Kent reported on distributions in Scarboro area factories and New Toronto. Covered several new plants. One subscription came into office through distribution. Plans being made to distribute Oakville Ford plant.

Social--- Picnic underway for coming Sunday. Notices sent out to live contact list along with announcements of forums. Food contributions assigned.

Trade Unions --- Report by Miller on youth activity around Leather workers strike.

Monday coming a mass picket to meet workers coming back from vacation. Miller possibly taken on staff--have a working relationship with international vice-president. Pine reported on FWD caucus meeting and red ~~Brosky~~ baiting by Doherty who opposed union educational class. Meeting confused. Hope to get some good militants to coming forum.

New Business. Jenkins asked for the floor to present two proposals to the PC with regards to developments in Vancouver Branch. In the process of his presentation chairman ruled Jenkins out of order. Motion by Kent that Jenkins speak to PC members and that PC give a report as it sees fit at the coming meeting--passed.

Report by DT on meeting she attended on Cuba arranged in Oakville by Canada Cuba Friendship committee. Report by Kent on fafoo around ~~xxxxxxx~~ opportunity FPCC had of sending someone to Cuba expense paid. Probable that a Pat Mitchell will get it. Motion to adjourn--passed.

Bannon -working

attendance July 18

Morgan holidays, White meeting, George-baby sitting

Adair--excused Powell excused, Jennings working

~~xxxx~~ Pine, Pryce, Anderson, Kent, LeBlanc, Paul, Nelson, Kendall, Peterson, Jenkin

Scott, Edwards, Mack, Cotton, Robinson, Green, Brock, Sand, Miller(late)

Donna

July 22, 1962

Dear Al; (Purdy)

Glad that you have found that little cell of humanity and comradeship, 81 Queen St West, in the Canadian capitalist organism. That the place isn't more so is due to the ~~the~~ harshness of the situation that confronts us, the exigencies of the struggle against capitalism. Do you know that poem by Brecht

You, who shall emerge from the flood
in which we are sinking,

Think—

When you speak of our weaknesses,
Also of the dark time

That brought them forth...

Even the hatred of squalor
Makes the brow grow stern.

Even anger against injustice
Makes the voice grow harsh. Alas, we
Who wished to lay the foundation of kindness
Could not ourselves be king.

But you, when at last it comes to pass
That man can help his fellow man,
Do not judge us
Too harshly.

Glad you have found the books that I have passed along to you worthwhile. I am myself not surprised for after all you are a revolutionary type.

By the time you get this note I expect to be off to Europe for about three months.

And have you been reading the Toronto papers about the exploits of one Milton Acorn along with Joe Rosenblatt and Tom Arnett. The Telegram has been giving them the best coverage of their civil rights struggle. Why not drop Milton a line of encouragement?

See upon my return

fraternally

Ross Dowson

Transcripts of handwritten letters from Europe, period Aug. 24 to Oct. 18, 1962

Aug. 14, 1962

Dear Cliff (Orchard), John (Wilson), Jerry (Houle):

Here I am in Paris settled in at the hotel Bon Séjour (No – moving out tomorrow if possible). Arrived yesterday after doing what could be done in England. But will be back there within 10 days for an important meeting. So unless there is something quite important don't write to this address. I will try to give you an address immediately I return to England.

Received an airmail copy of Vanguard just before leaving and now have finished going over it. Very good. Just what we need for the tour while it is in Sask. and Alta. I am sure that they agree. Hope you cut the press run back from last issue's – it is getting harder to for them to find big distributions.

I have gone through the copy you sent me and have marked a few things that I think you should consider. I think that there is only one serious matter and that is the failure of Vanguard to more clearly stand apart from FWD. The link-up is too direct to be healthy for our work in the Teamsters—let us hope I am too or overly sensitive here. I don't think the Medicare edit should have been the lead – and myself would have preferred that is filled the column on page 3 – still giving us a good slab on page 1 for layout purposes – possibly where austerity now is.

In the next few days I will be sending you material for the next issue. I have several good items in mind all on the British situation: the British LP (Labour Party) convention resolutions, the Left in Britain, interview with Protz of Keep Left, the Common Market, the fight against Fascism in Great Britain. Well – we will see. I think there is a half column cut (photo) of me in the boxes of cuts in the file room which can be used in one of the articles.

I have sent you two parcels of books and papers. Some of the stuff is for me and the rest is clearly marked. So far the trip has cost more than I had anticipated. Have been staying in hotels and this costs dough. Have spent the incredible sum of almost 130 dollars and very little of it on my travel – Paris to London one-way and Nottingham to London return – at most \$30.00.

In a few days you will be receiving the British document entitled ``Trotskyism Betrayed – the SWP accepts the political method of Pabloite Revisionism.'' You will also be receiving the latest Labour Review with Slaughter's article on Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks* – which perhaps most clearly shows their puerile activities into the realm of methodology. Healy has refused to give me any leads anywhere on the basis that we have gone over to the Pabloites. The trip to Nottingham was to meet some IS (International Secretariat of the Fourth International) supporters. Hard to say where Healy is going as since waving the big stick he has made some fraternal overtures.

The August holidays has made it difficult to meet people and at the same time to get hotel reservations. In August all Londoners and Parisians leave for the country and the country leads for the city. In France – the first time I have been in a really foreign country – is quite an experience. No Montreal bi-lingualism here. But to get on with my articles. Managed to get one copy of the weekly (Toronto) Globe & Mail here. Good column material on the thalidomide victims. Did you see the August Scientific American? See civil servants denounce pay freeze; letter carriers considering working to rules. See unemployment rise. Subsidies turned down for Nova Scotia coal mines. Anything new on Kennedy's talk to cut Canadian lumber exports to the U.S.?

Hope Pat got back from Cuba – and with some good dope on what is happening with us,

Fraternally, Ross

You will be sure to tell no one of the contents of my note on my experience with Healy – that goes for Helen O. also.

August 24, 1962
Paris, France

Dear Comrades:

Nine days in Paris and now back to England – then to Belgium. Hope some of the cards, packages and parcels have been arriving there – particularly the parcels of books that I have sent from Paris here. Don't be surprised about their being French, for it looks like I am just about convinced that I will have to learn it. Would you put the three French book parcels away until I return and then we can work out whether I can buy them or we have to sell them. Hope you will notice that the material used for wrapping one of the parcels is all valuable for our files. Ah – the Mandel book on Marxian economics – a very valuable book. He hopes to get it published in English – by Routledge Kegan Paul in Britain and Monthly Review Press in the USA – but it would take a year anyway. Joe (Hansen, SWP) has scanned parts of it and says that it is a first-rate job. A real addition to the Marxist library, establishing one of us on an international scale as a if not the leading Marxist economist. But we have to find customers at \$10 a throw. In one of the parcels is a Spanish-language magazine – the word Tribuna appears on the title. Give this copy to Vern O. – Anne reads Spanish. I think that he and/or the bookstore should get a small bundle of this magazine for circulation among Spanish reading persons we are coming across thru Fair Play etc. I do not think the other paperback book on the agrarian question in Cuba is of any use to Vern as it is in French – possibly Joe (Hansen) will be reviewing it and I will read it – Claire (too) – and anyone else amongst our students who is convinced as I now am that he or she must read French.

Had fully expected to meet Lambert (IC) and Frank (IS) here – but both are elsewhere on holidays with F, though expected to return a few days after our arrival, not doing so. After you see the facilities here you will really appreciate the splendid circumstances and facilities that we have in Vancouver and in Toronto to work out of. There was a plastic bombing not far from us the other day – of the home of a retired anti-OAS general. A group of what are certainly to have been ex-paratroopers raided a military establishment the other day and seized a supply of rifles and a few days ago one of our comrades pointed out Sartre's apartment which has been bombed several times and took us to one of the best bookstores which he said was only saved in the nick of time twice by bombs that had been left by what appeared to have been customers. Our headquarters are very small – in fact one is just an office – four of us filled it – the other, after searching arduously for the right stair well and upon find it going up the 8 flights of stairs proved to be closed until the coming Saturday. Our headquarters at King St. which Myer well remembers, was positively palatial at least in approach to this Paris one. Everyone is on holidays and this means for almost the entire month of August I gather

August 30/62, Brussels

Had to put this letter aside in Paris – go to London and get to Brussels a week later before I could pick it up. The IC meeting took place in London as scheduled. The SLL (Healy's group) has presented a document which you should shortly see in reply to

the SWP plenum document. An extremely sharp reply attacking the SWP for betraying Trotskyism and going Pabloist with which as you know the SLL considers there must be irreconcilable struggle. The atmosphere is very tense but nonetheless the parity committee meeting will be taking place here this weekend. I have met Germain (Mandel) and have yet to meet Pierre – tomorrow. Incidentally when I was in Paris we went out twice to meet Peng and his wife. He is a most remarkable (person) and so too is his wife who is a leader in her own right.

Surprised and sorry that I haven't met John R. yet anywhere (...) I met one of the Celonese in Paris and he told me that the IS forces distributed their leaflet and made contact with buffer-zone participants. Today I could have gone to an Algerian cadre school, but they only speak French so I didn't. Tonight I have a rendezvous with some Portuguese. Have only come across 2 copies of the Overseas (Toronto) Globe & Mail – it is very poor chit chat – and the British press which I am following closely says nothing or at least very little of any importance on what is happening in Canada. So I am really anticipating the next Vanguard and my return. It is too bad I cannot send you an address for mail – but I will have left here by the time you will get this – it is Thursday and I am leaving Monday – a holiday over there. I am going to the Blackpool Trade Union Congress then to London, then to the Kessingland Camp. What happens next is to be decided to a large extent by the Parity Committee meeting this weekend.

Fraternally, Ross Dowson

August 25, 1963 from RD

Dear Jerry (Houle), John (Wilson), Cliff (Orchard)

I have just picked up the mail that had been accumulating (Cliff, Jerry and wire) at Clapham during our stay in France. Came back to England late last night. Came over to Clapham first thing as there is an IC meeting today. I am still unable to give you an address that is useful. Probably on Tuesday we will be going back across the channel to Belgium and we may – in fact we probably won't stay much longer than the next weekend. After that things should be settled.

As things now stand it will not be possible for me to do any of the articles that you planned for me that require clippings. Even if on Monday I were to find that you had gone ahead and sent the clippings here – as you can see it is Aug. 25 here now – and besides the next week is probably to be the busiest yet. Hope that not hearing from me you have gone ahead and made other assignments. As things stand from this side of the water you have a couple of articles from me with boxes -- Fight against Fascism, The Left in Britain, The LP convention resolutions and one small item. I came over here early as I intend to get off to you via airmail a personal interview with Roger Protz on the Keep Left proscription. Unfortunately he isn't in this morning and I do not yet know for sure if I will be able to do anything until Monday. If I am for reasons unforeseen unable to send you this article I will send you an airmail letter first thing Monday – it should be about 4 pages of your copy. Hope you received all the material I send you and that it was not too difficult to decipher it. I should have told you while you were typing it up for the Vanguard that you should take a carbon copy and sent it right away to The Militant. Probably you never thought of it – so why not send the copy immediately that it has been set and proof-read. They would particularly be interested in the one on the anti-fascist struggle. That may cause quite a stir as you will note its line is totally different from the latest Newsletter you picked up an hour ago.

As soon as the Belgian meeting has been held I will be able to give you an address and then we can discuss the sending of material here for me to write up. The Blackpool TU Congress is on right after Belgium – then there is an encampment where Mandel is speaking along with Bourdet and others and I will possibly be invited to speak. On the 9th of Sept. the Committee of 100 is planning a massive demonstration at Whitehall – then there is nothing until the Labour Party convention Oct. 1-5.

I will write at length later – I wanted to get this note at once – probably be in your hands on Monday – about as fast as a wire.

Fraternally, (RD)

Aug. 27, 1962

Dear Comrades:

Just a line to tell you not to send anything to me in care of the Newsletter, Clapham St., & Healy, etc. – and would you tell anyone who might think to send me a note to that address to cease and desist – anyone including CH 8-3785 – Lois-Ruth Dowson, who have already sent me a note there. In a day or so you will be receiving a copy of a report that I am in the process of working up of our latest experience. Alas – I am not too sure if I am going to be able to get this issue the article I promised on the proscription of Keep Left – the interview with Roger Protz. I am going to phone him first thing tomorrow to try and arrange it but I am not sure whether GH (Healy) may try to block it or not. I will let you know. If I am blocked I will try to send you some thing else but we really need that to round out and give correct balance to the other articles I've sent.

Ross

I do not know if you intend to hold a PC meeting – at any rate any of the material I am sending – the first report which you have my first draft of and the second which you will have shortly is for PC only and shouldn't be talked about anywhere yet and of course not reproduced.

Sept. 16, 1962, Paris

Dear Allan (Harris), Jerry (Houle), Cliff (Orchard), John (Wilson)

I see I removed Allan through not making a few strokes of the pen in my last note. I have just arrived in Paris and am getting ready to go on the Grand Tour – planning to leave tomorrow. We have no address here that can be used yet so, I am afraid if you think there is anything important that you will have to send it to (SWP leader) Joseph Hansen, c/o American Express, 11 Rue Scribe, Paris, France.

(1) But first thing I would like you to do is phone Lois Bedard and tell her I got the money I borrowed from her alright – thanks, and I will be dropping a note. Then a few comments on the Minutes for your consideration.

(2) But second, Cliff O. – do not make any moves of any kind in the direction of taking the Vanguard out of Merchants Press! You must know that I have thought of this many times but have not done it. First thing that inhibits me is that we have found that the price at Merchants is not far off half of what it is elsewhere. The only shop even close pricewise is the CP-owned press. Then there are many other problems which are only heightened at a time of my absence. (...)

(3) Surprised to read in the Aug. 15 minutes that Local 938 FWD organizing itself on such a formal basis and such an open basis. Possibly things have changed since I was following closely. Constitutionally – caucuses, extra-official bodies as I always understood it were illegal and made you immediately subject to expulsion. Formally FWD has always been anonymous as I recall. Why suddenly are we moving out to the extent of a membership and dues system? Maybe the wrong words are being used – the minutes should say we are taking moves of some kind to tighten up our connections, regularize our relations and that we are also going about regularizing financial contributions, getting people to be FWD sustainers on a more regular basis. And if it is only a matter of wrong words being caught by the secretary this must to some degree reflect what might be in the minds of some Teamsters. What is the score here – I hope everything has been thought out here and we do not needlessly jeopardize our work in the one union where we have built a base, had a good experience in, etc.

(4) The other matter which I am somewhat –not somewhat but gravely— concerned about is the defeat by the branch of a motion to hold the coming Fair Play banquet on a joint basis with the Canada-Cuba Friendship Committee. This committee is the only point of contact we have with the CP – significantly it involves the biggest issue of concern to revolutionary types today – a socialist revolution and its defence. Whether the types around the CCFC or the Canadian CP are worthwhile is not even the issue. This has international implications. The CP would like nothing better—Hoy (the Cuban CP journal) would like nothing better than to link us up with the `sectarian tendencies` of the Latin American Bureau which Hansen has publicly dissociated the SWP from. We have absolutely nothing to lose and have everything even if some may mistakenly and short-sightedly think we have little to gain. Fair Play has long ago been divested of the

liberals with a small ``c`` -- and we have everything to gain. The two actions -- our approach to the CP for the setting up of a joint committee for the defence of democratic rights in the US -- and our so far extremely successful tactical relations with the CP on Cuba are probably the biggest things we have hit the CP with in decades. As you know Jack -- of medical aid, told me several times about the CP brass' indignation over their having anything to do with us. I think I told you all about his last trip to the store and his telling me how hostile the CP machine was to him and to Carr also (...)

The main thing is that we should fight any and all sectarian attitudes in our movement and I am afraid that this vote showed that our Toronto branch has sectarian tendencies which on this question -- probably because the matter never got properly argued out -- carried the day. Nobody anywhere in the world -- including the SWP -- has been able to do what we have done with regards to relations with the CP and the Cuban Revolution (...)

I do not know how you should handle this but we have to get out of the situation that the motion passed by the branch puts us in. Now that we have taken this position possibly FP has gone ahead on the same position. Well we will have to rectify this too. I think that the question should be re-opened and that there should be a frank and open discussion on the matter (..) For instance, if Nunez is asked to address the banquet for a few minutes (...) We have got to get into the real spirit of a united front -- cleaned of the atmospheres of a contest (...)

As for the Trotsky School. There has been a tacit agreement that this time Vancouver should send someone. Has the SWP sent us an invitation? I was of the opinion that Nick S. should be the one. But now I am not too sure (...) Ruth (Bullock) has been suggesting Ruth (Tate) who it seems to me is highly qualified on the basis of last year's work and it would be good to have a woman comrade go to the school (...) I would like to know who Vancouver nominates -- if they are agreed on someone who wants to go. I think they should have top priority.

Haven't had a chance to read the paper thoroughly. Too bad I was late on the Protz article (...) too bad that we were not able to get some photos other than the big ones of myself and Ernie -- as big as Castro (...)

Tomorrow I plan to pull out of here and get back for 2 meetings, one at Milan and then England -- at Brighton, the BLP convention Oct. 1-5th. Then we should decide how much longer I should stay over here. I would like to do a consultation with Joe (Hansen) as to how vital he thinks it is -- and in consultation with you. My general idea is at least another 10 days after that -- to about Oct. 15 anyway as I gather the SLL is going to have some regional conferences I would like to attend.

You should (not) be hard up for money since I haven't drawn any and I am sure Carson is on top of things. When are the (civic) elections in Toronto? Are we managing to work out alright on the forums? What's Vancouver saying about the trip? I have sent

RR a short letter from here. Send me any news and views you have in an envelope addressed to Joe within the week as he will be leaving to meet me in Milan.

Fraternally, Ross

PS: I hope you didn't get Joe's first article on Algeria set up in type (if we have I think we should pay for & dump the type). He has since written a much more important one which he airmailed yesterday and will be in the next issue of the paper (The Militant). It is a first instalment on a series of 2 or 3. Very important material is coming through and this is a stirring struggle – key to the Arabic and African revolution. I think you should pick up this one. Here is a copy. Joe happened to have one – so we are off.

The latest Newsletter (SLL) and a coming issue of The Militant will be carrying a statement on the Parity Committee meeting. I do not think we should say anything about this development until we can work out formula – possibly an article by myself next month.

Handwritten letter, Oct. 18, 1962, Paris

Dear Comrades:

I have just returned from a meeting held here by the Communist Party – first labor event here in France outside of our own forces that I have witnessed although I hear that if I had used the Metro yesterday I would have seen another – I would have ridden free as the ticket collectors (to put the heat on the government to meet their demands) just refused to collect tickets. Quite an effective form of struggle don't you think! Certainly the public would be with you and it hits the authorities where it hurts.

The CP meeting considering that this is the mass party of the left in France was a modest one. All the big guns were there. Thorez, himself opened up the meeting as chairman and made a lengthy speech right off. It was jammed but it was held in a hall that at most would hold 3,000 persons. Of course I got little of the speeches but it seemed to be a rally of the party activists in the Paris area. It was held in Monmartre. The final speaker gave a lengthy reading of all the persons who were top scorers in a subscription drive – dragging on till the close. Thorez is not an effective speaker but the person who spoke after him was however. I missed the name due to the applause when Thorez announced him. From what I got of its contents it was largely an appeal for a broad front of all supporters of parliamentary democracy against de Gaulle on a non-programmatic basis. The audience was quite youthful – it appeared to me to be a much more a cross section of Parisian workers than Canadian CP meetings (can) gather of Canadian workers.

Phoned our Swiss comrades today and I will be leaving for Switzerland Saturday night to arrive there Sunday to attend some kind of conference before getting down to our business. I have never listened so much in my life – and never been so silent. The last two days I have spent discussing with our Comrades Peng and Chen – not discussing really but interviewing them about their experiences in the Chinese Revolution and about their views on China today. I have material for a dozen articles but I plan to write up two. I haven't had an opportunity to write up the interview I had with the Swiss Socialist youth and plan to do that tomorrow. On Saturday afternoon we plan to have a discussion with Gerard Block who was at the Parity Committee meeting in London, before I take the train for Switzerland. I will probably be returning from Switzerland with one of the comrades there on Thursday so we can have a bit of a discussion before Saturday and Sundays International Committee meeting.

As things stand I plan to leave Paris shortly after that Sunday night meeting. We are holding a big supper for Peng and Chen possibly Monday so I hope to be in London by Wednesday. May have to spend a day or so in London. Some comrades want me to go to Dublin on the way out and that may add a day or so but you can expect me early in November.

I am enclosing a copy of the *Tripoli Program* – the most important document of the Algerian Revolution – I think we should consider publishing it in our pamphlet series

– LT(rotsky) on the Trade Unions – Marx & Engels on the Labor Party. I think we should get it underway at once. Can Claire or John R. translate it? And could (you) type it up on our margin width? I should be there by then. (What) I sent you there is a condensation of a document by Pablo on the agrarian question – we should type this up for the pamphlet (series) also – he prepared it for the (Algerian?) government.

Received the money sent here in care of Joe H. Thanks! Just what I needed. I had commenced to borrow money. Tell Gordon I was all set to send him a card when I looked it over closely and decided it was much too good to send in the mail – a very fine reproduction of a self portrait by Ingres. I have picked up a terrific reproduction of Picasso's Guernica – on the Spanish Civil War. But can't decide whether to keep it for my apartment that Cliff is no doubt putting in order or turn it over for the headquarters.

Fraternally, Ross D.

Haven't received a copy of the October issue of Vanguard. What gives? Did The Militant forward that pile of material I sent on the Labor Party Conference?

(My Documents) 100-442-1962 1962-08 Aug 20-1
Full 05 Review (on disc) (S) -2

g. 30, 19

Yesterday evening I had supper in not the best but one of the best restaurants on the square, in one of the guild houses. A tremendous meal – trout, wine from the Rhine, *pâtisserie française*. A leisurely meal as all meals in France and Belgium seem to be – the lunch period at the Renault plant must be a terrible strain. (...)

But now let us get to the business at hand. I do not know how our affairs have been going since my absence. Whether Jerry has sold his car, whether the Kodak bonus has come thru or the B of E is still holding out but I now possess

140 Fr. Francs – 28.00

3 US \$ -- 3.00

plus US travelers cheques – 120.00 (total) 206.00

My expenses have been higher than I had contemplated. When we hit Paris everyone was on holiday and so I had hotel expenses. When I hit England the political climate was such that I preferred to have hotel expenses and in Belgium I am here so short a time I might as well have hotel expenses. Then I must of course – even going without breakfast – which is a joke in France & Belgium – coffee and roll or stick (with

coffee at 40 cents, expresso only drunk here). I must have the odd native dish. Yesterday I had a "filet Americaine" – raw beef steak mixed with an egg and onions – it cost \$1 and today I should try what they call "cannibal." Then in Paris there were some books purchased which no one had contemplated – one on the Paris Commune, another on 1848 – another by E. Mandel – a couple by Guerin – probably about \$30 worth. And then the transportation London to Paris, Paris to London, London to Brussels and then this Monday Brussels to London to Blackpool where the Trade Union Congress is taking place – it is all very expensive. So I am wondering if I cannot place another interest free loan absolutely guaranteed on my return. Say about \$200.

(...) (end of page 3)

Postcard from Paris (Monmartre), Aug. 20, 1962

To The Dowsons, 1549 Applewood Rd., Port Credit, ON Canada

Dear Gang:

Came over here for a short trip before returning to England. Scene on front not all untypical. Whole areas of Paris, certainly where I am staying and have been wandering would seem to be unchanged for 100 years. Took in part of the Louvre the day before and yesterday went over to the Left Bank near the Sorbonne. Can't afford then and can't read them but it looks like I will be bringing some books back. Really astounding to see the important material that French intellectuals have written that remain untranslated into English. Unfortunately they are expensive – a two-volume paperback on economics was over \$9 US. Cost of living is very high but have eliminated what they call breakfast – a coffee and roll, over 40 cents. Wine is cheaper than milk. Can take your camera into the Louvre as, too, London's Tate Gallery. No such thing as bi-lingualism here as in Montreal. Carrying a phrase book, dictionary and elaborate guide along with raincoat but no one ever speaks to me except someone wanting to know how to find rue so and so. All Paris eats in self-serve restaurants as they can't afford anything else. So all I have to do is work out the price but they give you a bill for that too. This afternoon I am meeting a Ceylonese who speaks English -- Ross

Blackpool - England

Sept 4/62

(Sept 4/62)

Dear Clara + Hugh

Arrived at the TC Congress here

at Blackpool this afternoon after

coming over from Hull yesterday

directly up with ferry last night + this morning

The Congress is being held in the manner

held in the relation town + I am writing

to some of the delegates are sounding off

in Trade Union Education + Social Segregation

+ Socially + politically very narrow - I am what

I can get the chairman of the convention send it

has a bit a conservative opinion on these matters

which the talked yesterday on the educational

system as being "muddled and clear distinction

and straightened by clear arrangements" which

know the answer to this - but the answer to

most coming - The agenda is simply for which

I am dead of the thousands published now

even Frank Hand discussed and overplayed

the very subtle and clever friends have spread

the yesterday on behalf of the Education

movement - I will have to see what he had

45 My 200 of 1600
C. M. R. P. and the
Keep the
P. M. R. P. 1000

SEP 5 1 30 PM
RECEIVED
PHOTO

RECORDED
CHEAP
DEFINITE



Clara + Hugh Dawson

44 Unsworth

1020 to 12 QAY

CANADA

London England
Sept 10, 1962

Dear Comrades,

I have been intending to send you this note for sometime now but I have been and it looks like I will be until the very end on the move. From England to France to England to Belgium to England and within England from London to the South Coast to London to the Midland to London to the Coast - then to London. I have lost all contact with Canada as I just haven't settled anywhere to set up an address. Missed George and Helen although comrades that I have met have met them - I gather they are somewhere on the continent. I also missed John R of Toronto who I gather has returned. But I met and had several talks with the US YSA delegate to Helsinki and several US people who despite harassment carried out a very successful distribution of a bi-lingual leaflet there.

You will be pleased to know that the LOS - ILCP party committee meeting held on the continent came off very well indeed. I anticipate meeting EC here today who will arrive to wind up the final details for the publication of the first contributions for the discussion that is underway and in which we must participate.

I spent Saturday morning in the British Museum library and alas since it was so interesting a part of the afternoon too. I was checking upon a quote by Hegel that someone in Paris wanted from quite a rare book. Indeed if Lenin didn't read German I would be sure that he perused the same volume he must have. Yesterday I was up at the High Point at Hampstead Heath and who came along the path before me but David Hewes - here for the Commonwealth Labor Party Conference called by the BLP. He introduced me to his companion Hugh Gaitskell. So you see I have been meeting all kinds of people.

- My regards to the tour which I estimate has arrived by now

fraternally

Russ Dawson

Healy on Cuba
S. L. H. Reunification of the
1963 was to have been the
11 year of Re-unification of the
Swiss International after a
ten year split -
note past tense -
"was to have been" -



Bullock
354 West 16th St
North Vancouver
British Columbia
CANADA



PAR AVION

Paris France
Oct 14/62

Dear Ruth & Reg

Arrived in Paris a day ago with the intention of having a final discussion with Joe & Reba before pulling out for Canada. However while I was at the Brighton Labour Party Conference it appears they were in Switzerland and Frankfurt and made connections which I agree I must follow up. It will be valuable for our CND work. ^{They also} ~~make~~ make it ~~so~~ important that I attend the next International Committee meeting on the 27 and 28. So I will be back in Canada by about Nov 1 or 2nd.

The general understanding in Toronto was that I would be there tomorrow or so. ~~But~~ the last correspondence I received everything appears to be going along alright - and I suppose the fact that there was no mail ~~from~~ when I came back after being away since Sept 30 is proof that they ~~are~~ ^{are getting} along very well.

When I came back from Brighton Jerry Healy gave me an address that George & Helen Brown phoned in that day. He told me that it was 32 St Anthony's Road Forest Gate, London England quite a way out so I sent them a letter which they would have got Monday morning telling them to phone me and we would get together. But they never phoned and I was compelled to pull out Wednesday night. Several comrades met them at the Helsinki affair. The US delegate told me that they were enthusiastic about the SL's position on Cuba which I hope is not true. That part of my experience - the contact with the SL - has been the most disappointing of my tour of the continent. While it is not excluded that he may make ~~some~~ a big flop the current direction of Healy is very bad in my opinion and can only lead to the ossification of what was once the most favorably placed sections of the world movement.

2
The line is that the broad left (they call it the "fake left") is exhausted - that's how Cliff Slaughter puts it. You must have received the last Labour Review with its extensive appreciation of Alistair MacLeod. The next issue is slated to have a similar job done on the Tribune. To whom are they addressing themselves? We need this material like a hole in the head. Each issue of the paper reveals more clearly their sectarian approach - our influence is as yet very small in the Br CP - and unfortunately due to their line getting less - but according to the last Newsletter you would think that the SWP defeated the NEC on the guilt by association clause and that the Tribune betrayed the struggle. However the Tribune carried the main burden of the fight. The Young Guard took a firm and principled stand in defence of Democracy and Keep Left. Of course they don't agree with Keep Left - they were critical of it - and didn't defend it as we would - but from the Newsletter you would gather that they ganged up with the NEC.

Healy is moving up the lane of blind factionalism - shortly you will be receiving his contribution to the Parity discussion. It is on the betrayal of Trotskyism by the SWP and its going back to the 1952-53 vintage. He has cut me off from meeting the rank and file of the party.

I have managed to get a very good picture of the NEC forces - largely from my tour of Holland, Austria and Rome - and now Paris. Today and yesterday we attended the French NC meeting which I gave our greetings to in French to everyone's amusement (because of my French and call it). There are big problems here too which will soon be made known in the discussion bulletins - the first probably being turned over for circulation tomorrow in London.

I suppose there is no way out of postponing the Ntl convention until Spring. I am sure the comrades in Toronto anyway could do little of the preparatory work in my ~~absence~~ absence. However we will be in a good position with my trip completed, ~~for~~ for the first time, ~~to~~ a real international report and a report on the unification process. As soon as I return I will get to work on the documentation. Since Cliff appears to have grabbed hold of the paper and worked on the store I gather we will try to keep it this way as much as possible. So I can

3
get to work on the documents and on the national ~~business~~ business of the movement.

And how is Ernie and John getting along there? I hope that Vancouver is able to send a red hat candidate to the school this year - Nick or Larry or perhaps the young comrade who you told me was picked up a couple of times while coming away from the hall. I know you have good material and I hope you can send someone of your choice - Toronto has had 3 now even if we count Ernie as a Vancouverite.

How is Malcolm these days? Give him my regards. Did you get anything into Cliff for the October issue of the paper? I hope so - as it would be a real help to him. Hope you can get something in for the November issue too. Although I am not sure if my Labor Party Conference material left much room for anyone else. And before the week is out I hope to send something on the formation of what I anticipate will be the Irish section of the movement shortly and on item on the Dutch youth movement.

The trip has been a big experience but I can't say I'm not sorry to be on the way back to Canada. It is really surprising how much time you have to waste in the single days of living when you travel and don't have the routine of 81 Queen working for you.

fraternally

Ross

Never did hear from Des - thought he would answer my note.

1 Cumberland
Toronto 5, Ont.

Found in
(late) Oct 1962

Dear pi-lan and shu-tze

I received your note this morning and hasten to return the money to you with the next amount included. Possibly my name is not the best but it was on this occasion the easiest as the Workers Vanguard Publishing Association account was the one that the original \$25 was drawn from and I am the signer for it. This was the easiest way to get the association name off the cheque and get a name on it. Next time I will get some other name which has possibly less significance.

Yes, we are growing--we have more than doubled our membership in the Toronto area over the last year and there is no question we are the most dynamic factor in the entire left in this area. The University of Toronto held a teach-in over the past week-end and we did the following; our campus comrades forced other groups to collaborate with us to hold a meeting attended by over 500 for a speaker who was at the last moment refused the opportunity to speak, we put out the leaflet for this too, We sold over 200 copies of our youth paper, we sold about 30 copies of a magazine put out in the U.S. opposing the war in Vietnam, called Viet-Report, we sold a considerable number of the YS pamphlet on Vietnam, we distributed free several thousand copies of the last Vanguard, we distributed 2,000 leaflets on a meeting of our Committee on Quebec, we distributed several thousand leaflets on our campus meeting preparatory for the demonstration being held this Saturday October 16, we did two distributions probably about 3,000 each of two other leaflets on this coming Saturday's demonstration, we sold a considerable number of pamphlets on Cuba through the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. In all this hurly-burly in front of the arena where the teach-in was held the only other tendency to appear was the Maoists--the smallish Toronto group sold their bulletin and then some of the NY Maoists came up with some Marcyites with whom it would appear they have fused. During ~~Friday~~, Saturday and Sunday we ran off 20,000 leaflets

We are now anticipating the fruits of our work ---the demonstration on Saturday.

And our Trailblazer tour across the West is coming along well. They have now arrived in Calgary. Ernie who you will be seeing much of in the future is with this project.

I have written up considerable copy on the teach-in for the Militant--and now must re-write it in a manner suitable for World Outlook

fraternally

Ross

E4 1962-68 PENG
November 5, 1962.

Dear Comrade Burns:

Enclosed you will find a statement that I have drawn up. I am submitting it to be attached to the minutes of the October meeting of the International Committee.

Fraternally,

R. Dowson

Enc.

STATEMENT ON INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING
Held October 27-28, 1962

By Ross Dowson

The meeting opened with 10 comrades in attendance --- three from Britain, four from France and one each from Canada, China and Austria. As the meeting was getting underway, the secretary of the IC turned over to me a sheaf of material relating to the previous meeting of the IC. It included (1) Confidential Note by GH and CS, (2) Statement by the International Committee, (3) Statement Submitted by R. Dowson, (4) Minutes of the meeting of the IC held August 25-26.

Two weeks previously I had written to the secretary asking that this material be forwarded to an address which I designated. He took it upon himself not to do so, he said, as he now turned it over to me, because he did not like to send this type of material to such an address as I had designated. The Chinese delegate commented that he had received only three of the items (1, 2, 3) only late the previous afternoon. The Austrian delegate said that he had seen none of this material until he looked at the Chinese delegate's copies late the previous evening. I do not recall either the French delegates or the British delegates saying anything as to when they received their copies of this material.

At the same time, the secretary turned over mimeographed copies of translations of three documents from Chile. Since one of them, written over a month previous, on September 23, deals with the August meeting of the IC it would appear that Chile -- in contrast to the rest of us -- had received at least some of the above material even prior to that date. As the secretary turned over the three Chilean documents (a) letter from Comrades Hugembert and Valdes, (b) Report on the POR of Peru, (c) Confidential report on the trip of the IS delegate through Latin America, he mentioned that there was a fourth document but that it was not available. Whether he said that it had not yet been translated or was only waiting mimeographing, I do not recall.

Comrade T (Britain) assumed the chair without calling for nominations or a vote. At a later stage when I protested that statements which I wished should be recorded in the minutes were not, apparently, being taken down by anyone, I learned that there was no secretary in the normal meaning of the term. It appears traditional that delegates T and C (Britain) record what they think pertinent and later, in collaboration, work out "the minutes."

The question of the non-appearance of JH who had been invited as an observer immediately came up. I handed the chairman a letter that JH had asked me to submit. It read as follows:

"October 27, 1962. Dear Comrades, In view of the 'Statement by the International Committee' concerning the meeting of August 25 and 26 and the accompanying 'Confidential Note by G. Healy and C. Slaughter of the SLL,' two documents which I saw for the first time only last

night, I feel it necessary to decline the invitation of the International Committee to attend its meeting of October 27 and 28 as an observer. Fraternally, JH."

In reply to G's (Britain) protests over JH's absence, I informed him that the publication of items 1, 2 plus 3 were in violation of an agreement reached at the meeting referred to in (1) as having taken place "one day after the IC meeting of August 25-26." At that meeting it was agreed that with the withdrawal of my statement, the minutes of the IC meeting would record nothing but motions. This agreement was arrived at so that the international discussion should not get fouled up at the start with organizational matters. Another important reason for this agreement was to assure that JH's status as an observer, and the SWP's fraternal but non-organizational relation to the IC, should not be distorted. I challenged the secretary over his publishing material -- in violation of an agreement -- which reveals that he is prepared to endanger not only the security of JH but the legal position of the entire SWP, and, that under such circumstances it is he who has placed JH in such a position that he has to absent himself. After some angry declamations by the British and by some of the French I moved that we proceed.

The chairman presented the agenda as follows:

1. Representation and voting rights at this meeting
2. Minutes of the last meeting
3. Political situation in the IC
4. Cuba
5. Arrangements for the IC international conference
6. Report on Parity Committee
7. Other business

A proposal was made that voting powers be as follows: two for Britain, two for France, one for Canada, one for Austria, and one for China.

The Austrian delegate stated that such material as had been submitted concerning the last IC meeting did not give sections unable to attend any idea of who is involved and what the various opinions are that are held by the forces in the IC. It now turns out with the Canadian leaving the last meeting in protest over the uncomradely attacks directed against the Canadian Trotskyist leadership, that the decisions reported to have been made in the name of the IC were actually made by three comrades representing two countries, two British and one French. He proposed that since the present proposition would only continue the method of operation in previous meetings which he had participated in, that the minutes should be modified by having them henceforth record which section casts each vote.

Referring to the ruling adopted by the International Congress of June 1958 titled "Function of the International Committee," the Chinese delegate proposed that we recognize one vote for each section. He read Clause 9 of the resolution which states that "The International Committee shall be composed of one representative from each participating section." To an enquiry as to why this practice had been violated, Comrade P (France) said to give representation on the basis of rough estimation of numerical strength. I questioned the proposal. If strength was to be a factor then Canada should have at least the same as France. I expressed the opinion that we should follow the rule as provided in the Resolution of 1958. This

was based on recognition that we were not the FI, governed strictly and formally by the principles of democratic centralism, but an International Committee of the FI, a faction in the world Trotskyist movement seeking to reconstitute the world movement on the basis of orthodox Trotskyism. That as a faction we were not bound by formal votes so much as a common understanding of our role as a tendency in the Trotskyist movement. I moved that we revert to our original procedure of one vote for one section.

G (Britain) exclaimed, "We are not having that." C (Britain) declared that it is those who have broken with the ideas of orthodox Trotskyism who now want to change what we have established as our voting procedure and that he doesn't at all consider the IS forces as being Trotskyist.

One of the French raised the question of some Indo-Chinese now in Paris coming onto the IC to represent Indo-China. They haven't asked to come on, he said, because they feel that they have been cut off so long that they do not really represent Indo-China. There were several interjections to the effect that should the Indo-Chinese section agree it was highly desirable that these comrades attend. P (France) opposed one vote for one section as it would do away with the possibility of minority representation.

I called upon the chair to take the vote on my motion of one vote for one section. This vote was not counted on the basis of the procedures laid down in 1958 but on the basis now being proposed by the British and French. The motion was defeated: For -- 2 (China, Canada), Abstain -- 1 (Austria), Against -- 4 (2 French, 2 British).

The Austrian motion was put and it passed. For -- 2 (Britain), 1 France, 1 Austrian; Abstain -- 1 Canada, 1 China, 1 France.

Motion by the Austrian delegate that the agenda be arranged so as to take up the Political Situation in the IC next.

On this point C (Britain) presented his views, largely in relation to the majority report that appeared in SWP bulletin, Vol. 23, No. 5. This statement by C of his personal views was verbal, there was no documentation. Of course it is impossible to give an accurate digest of his declarations, under these circumstances. I report only a few matters that may be of interest. He charged that the SWP is criticizing the SLL because the strength of the SLL is a stumbling block to the centrist SWP -- it stands in the way of it getting together with the Pabloists. The SWP's method is impressionistic and non-dialectical. C rejects any idea that the great opportunities that the SWP visualizes would open up from a unification of Trotskyist forces are an argument for unification. What is necessary is clarity -- a sharp fight. We need to approach this question in the spirit of Leninism. He attacked the SWP for not analyzing what led to the 1953 split. It must say either the Pabloists have changed or the split was wrong. The Pabloists in their IEC statement on unification say the SWP was wrong. C claimed that the Pabloists haven't changed. He touched on what criteria he believed should be used to define the class character of the state in relation to Cuba. He expressed the opinion that we cannot seek the definition of the state in the property relations but the impact of the struggle on the whole of the class is for us the decisive question. He said that the discussion with the Pabloists stopped too soon and the split was thus not fully understood. He commented at length on recent writings by Pablo and asked if anyone on the IC held these views -- we should ask them and if they do we will have to expel them, he declared. In passing he denounced Pioneer Publishers for placing an ad in the New Left Review. He attacked at length a leaflet recently circulated by the French IS forces, particularly a portion of it dealing with the defence of Cuba.

Comrade P (France) took up the leaflet referred to by C (Britain) at considerable length and ended by presenting a resolution which he asked be voted on by this gathering. G's (France) contribution summed up to a challenge of JH's political integrity. In my contribution I stressed my opinion that C (Britain) and the French delegates were allowing themselves to be caught up in blind factionalism. In the course of my comment I attempted to explain what I thought the French IS leaflet was trying to get at if we were to attempt an examination without a factional bias. G (Britain) deplored what he considered to be a failure on the part of the SWP to enter into the exchange of views. This failure flows, he said, from a profound crisis in the SWP. The International is dying because of the failure of this discussion to develop -- and the root of the crisis is the SWP. Referring to an item in The Militant by Halstead on the current elections, he stated that the SWP is more conciliationist to Stalinism than Cochrane ever was. The SWP is in serious danger of a prolonged crisis. Referring to my comments on the French IS leaflet, he said: "You are not a Trotskyist -- you ought to join the Canadian Communist Party." Cuba is involved in a mad political gamble, he said, referring to Castro's acceptance of "offensive" arms from the Soviet Union.

The session adjourned to be reconvened on Sunday.

First item was the resolution submitted by the French. The resolution was presented in French. It had been somewhat hastily written and when I undertook to translate it I was unable to decipher all of it. However the essential points were as follows:

"The International Committee of the Fourth considers the French situation to be very serious. Big business has launched a decisive offensive against the working class with a view to destroying the possibility of its organizing itself on a class basis. The CI denounces the leaders of the traditional political and trade union organizations who categorically refuse to break 'the traitorous band that unites them to the bourgeoisie, and are taking the workers to catastrophe.'

"It denounces the French Pabloite group which inspired by Germain and Frank makes efforts in such a grave situation to cover up the treason of the bureaucratic apparatuses and their total responsibility in the defeat suffered by the working class -- namely; by writing in their leaflet distributed three days ago in the Renault factory: 'It is necessary to denounce the parliamentary illusions which could still exist in the masses.'

"The CI states," the proposed resolution continued, "that the political line which is sketched out in this leaflet breaks completely with the program of the FI. One also reads in this leaflet 'It is necessary... to open the perspective of a workers and farmers government calling for a constituent.'

"Now the slogan of the 'Constituent Assembly' has been launched by the French Stalinists and reflects very well the whole of the position of Stalinism, the resolute partisans of bourgeois parliamentarism. The French CP tries to disguise the imperialist character of French capitalism and claims to defend 'the independence of France' against Wall Street, the word 'constituent' is only the keynote of that political line. To project such a keynote in France is to contribute to the spreading of parliamentary illusions.

"...the same Pabloist tract finally calls upon 'the French working class to the same extent as the workers states (USSR, China, Yugoslavia, Poland, Albania, etc.) to come to the aid of the heroic armed people of Cuba.'

"The IC notes that the USSR, China, Yugoslavia, Poland, Albania, etc., in the eyes of the Pabloists are no longer degenerated workers states or bureaucratically deformed workers states but workers states...

"The IC considers this involves an open betrayal of all the principles of the international Trotskyist movement since it was founded in 1933."

G (Britain) proposed that the reference to Germain and Frank be cut out of the resolution. This was agreed to by the French. C (Britain) asked about the serious situation in France mentioned in the first sentence, and, with the agreement of the French a sentence or two dealing with this was added.

The Austrian delegate said that he was not prepared to support this resolution. He thought that the Pabloist line was very bad but the resolution doesn't spell out what the IC French have to say to the working class at this crucial time.

I characterized this resolution as a scandal -- that it revealed how the comrades who have assumed responsibility for the leadership of the IC and who have identified themselves with it are missing the boat, how they are reneging on their duty to Trotskyism, to the members of their sections and themselves. Asking that my comments be recorded I pointed out that this is one of the most representative if not the most representative meeting of the IC ever held and it is taking place not only at a time of crisis in French political life but when the bomb hangs threateningly over revolutionary Cuba and the entire world. Here we are at a time when the forces of Trotskyism are split, split in two in France and what do our French comrades present to the IC but an attack on the Pabloists. The situation cries out for unity, we are participating in a Parity Committee with the IEC and we are talking about joint actions and here we have a resolution before us calling upon us to condemn the French IS forces. And on what grounds -- over a leaflet, a mimeographed leaflet, possibly put out by inexperienced comrades, circulated in one factory. We don't know what effect it had, how many workers read it, whether it compromised in any serious way the work of our comrades in that situation. What the IC French should be doing and the British urging them to do is to speak to the IS French about this leaflet, show them where they are wrong -- if there is anything seriously wrong with the leaflet -- and trying to reach collaboration. What importance is this leaflet I asked? Do you want anyone to take this committee seriously? If so you will dump this resolution and the question of the leaflet and come to grips with the real problems that confront us.

G (Britain) claimed that there was nothing in common in the Swiss and Canadian viewpoint and asked the French not to present the resolution for a vote but to take it back and revise it. He characterized my attack on it as a search for an opportunity to break from the IC and join the Pabloists. C (Britain) made it clear that he was opposed to any concept of unity with the Pabloists and did not consider us to be a faction in the same movement with them. G (Britain) urged that the French withdraw it and that it be developed in a more rounded way in the direction of how we see the French crisis, that this resolution then be circulated with a copy of the Pabloist leaflet to all sections so that they can make known their views on it before the next meeting. The resolution was withdrawn.

I then made a motion that we take up the very important matters raised by the Chilean comrades since we are dealing with the political situation in the IC. The chairman refused to entertain the motion, with the assurance that we would take it up in good time.

The next item was Cuba. I presented the following motion for discussion and approval of the meeting:

"Motion: That the International Committee draw up a public declaration expressing its solidarity with the Revolutionary Government of Fidel Castro in its heroic defence of the Cuban Revolution against the attack of the imperialist United States; that the

declaration explain to the international working class that the attack is due fundamentally to the impelling necessity which the American capitalist class feels to crush the first workers state in the Western Hemisphere, and that in the light of this explanation of how their basic class interests are involved, the declaration calls on the working people throughout the world to rally to the defense of the Cuban people the way they rallied to the defense of the Russian people after the Revolution of November 1917; that the declaration direct a special appeal to the rest of the Latin-American peoples, explaining that the best defense they can offer to Cuba is to follow the revolutionary example which it has set.

"Further, that without waiting for the next regular meeting of the Parity Committee, the International Committee consult as soon as possible with representatives of the International Secretariat on the problem of co-ordinating world-wide Trotskyist defense activities in behalf of Cuba."

In opposition to this, a rough copy resolution drawn up the previous evening was presented by the British. It was read out, as there were no copies available for study by the delegates. This resolution provoked a very sharp controversy and it is to be hoped that the original draft will be recorded in the minutes as it should be.

The Canadian motion projected a line for a resolution which would mark out as the chief enemy of Cuba American imperialism, bent on crushing the first workers state in the Western Hemisphere and threatening the world with atomic destruction. The British presented a resolution, only the first sentence of which dealt with American imperialism, and only in passing. The rest of the resolution dwelt on the counter-revolutionary role of the Soviet bureaucracy. I characterized the British resolution as being completely false in its emphasis, as not spelling out that capitalism is the main enemy, that it is the enemy and that the Soviet bureaucracy's crippling and betraying of the anticapitalist, anti-imperialist struggle is the basis of our irreconcilable opposition to it. I stated that implicit in this resolution is acceptance of the imperialist charge that the Soviet bureaucracy has placed weapons on Cuban soil of an "offensive" character -- this is very risky indeed. And thus the resolution condemns Soviet aid as a maneuver in a big power play for a deal and imperils the Cuban Revolution. I urged that this resolution be rejected, that the line of the Canadian motion be adopted and a committee struck off to frame a suitable resolution based on it.

G (Britain) declared that this discussion is identical with the one that took place in 1952 with Lawrence and company now in the CP. He compared Soviet aid to Cuba -- which I had characterized as being progressive and essential to the maintenance of the revolution -- to Stalin's aid to the Spanish Popular Front bourgeois government which directed it against the revolution. G suggested that if we did not support this resolution, which he claimed was directed to the advanced workers, we were giving up our responsibility to differentiate ourselves from other currents and so build the independent revolutionary party.

The Chinese delegate saw as the source of the difficulty the differences within the IC on the character of the Cuban state. But we now face a very serious crisis and we must make it clear who the real enemy is -- American imperialism -- and call upon workers throughout the world for action against American imperialism. He said we have to understand the contradictory character and role of the Soviet bureaucracy. The aid that the Soviet Union has granted Cuba has been progressive and essential to the progress of the revolution; but on the other hand the bureaucracy has helped the Cubans from the point of view of its own interests. The diplomatic policy of Khrushchev is not revolutionary. The military aid is essential but in the long run will not save the revolution, only the extension of the revolution will save Cuba.

The Austrian delegate asked G (Britain) not to bring the old struggles with Lawrence into the discussion. He said that everyone here knows the nature and role of Stalinism. It is a matter of what we are going to say and to whom. He thought that the dangers in the Kremlin role should be brought into the resolution and the danger of the UN intervention, too, but that the resolution has the wrong weight and that the question of "offensive" missile bases should be left out as it is open to question. The resolution must have as its central point a condemnation of American imperialism and a call for action against it.

I moved that the British Resolution be rejected and that the drawing up of a new resolution in accordance with the line of the Canadian motion be referred to a committee.

G (Britain) declared that the British resolution was not going to be referred, that it contains the main line of approach on which we split from Pabloism in 1953. We have to take a firm line and the SLL is acting on the line of this resolution now. We can have no ambiguity on Stalinism; it was the question of its essential role that was at the root of the split in 1953. Are we going to expose the treacherous misleaders? Are we going to build the party? That is what is involved, he said.

The Chinese delegate said we cannot condemn Soviet aid, without it the revolution would have been destroyed. We must demand that the Soviet Union help the Cuban Revolution in other ways than military equipment. G, he said, talks too much about bureaucracy as if it was his discovery and we who have been trained in Trotskyism didn't know about it. This isn't even the problem. The central problem, without covering up for the Kremlin in any way, is imperialism, US imperialism.

The Austrian delegate presented another motion. Whereas the Canadian motion attributed American imperialism's policy of destroying Cuba at any cost to the fact that Cuba is a workers state, the Austrian motion, developed along similar lines, characterized Cuba as having a workers and farmers government.

While the debate was proceeding C (Britain) was reshaping the original version of the British resolution. I asked the chair how it intended to handle this because after this lengthy discussion it appears that we are going to be presented with another resolution which will in all probability open up the whole debate again. I urged that he treat the British resolution as presenting a line and that he call a vote on which line the resolution coming out of this IC meeting should have. He ruled that the redraft of the original British resolution be read but that there be no further debate.

The Canadian motion was presented. The vote was: For -- 2 (Canada, China), Against -- 3 (France 2, Britain 1), Abstentions -- 1 (Austria). G (Britain) made a statement to the effect that while not agreeing that Cuba is a workers state, and since the discussion on this question is proceeding in the SLL, he is unable to support it; he nevertheless agrees with the sentiment of the motion that calls for defense of the Cuban Revolution. C (Britain) made a statement that his opposition to the motion flows from its characterization of Cuba as a workers state. The Austrian delegate withdrew his motion. The British resolution in a modified form was then voted on. For -- 4 (Britain 2, France 2). The Austrian delegate cast his vote for this resolution with the understanding that it will undergo further polishing and that he would collaborate in this. Against -- 2 (China, Canada).

G (Britain) reported on the two Parity Committee meetings that have taken place so far. He reported progress in the direction as outlined in the minutes. There is only one difficulty at present, he said, the IS has not turned over the documents agreed upon for circulation, but G thinks that this is of no particular significance. Next meeting will be on November 19. This report was adopted unanimously.

I asked what the first paragraph in point one of the report of the September 2 meeting meant. It reads as follows: "The IC representatives stated that they did not politically represent the SWP but rather a definite political tendency in continuity with the break made in 1953." I asked why wasn't an Austrian on the IC delegation? I had learned that he had made known to the August IC meeting that he was available and prepared to participate. And why wasn't the Chinese delegate, or for that matter myself, nominated? G (Britain) replied that it is obvious that there is a split in the IC and that the statement meant just what it said -- that P (France) and C and G (Britain) who were the IC delegates represent not the IC, but a tendency in the IC. G(Britain) offered his seat at the next meeting to the Austrian delegate who declined to accept it. He made no similar offer to the Chinese delegate who is available to attend.

The Austrian delegate asked who decided to submit the SLL document World Prospect for Socialism to the international discussion? G (Britain) replied that the previous meeting of the IC had. He also pointed out that this document had been presented by the British to a previous meeting of the IC which had adopted it. The SWP had agreed to the submission of its counter-document and it has been turned over along with the SLL reply by the IC representatives.

Minutes: I asked what was the distinction between the statement by the International Committee and the Confidential Note signed by C and G (Britain) that appear in the record of the last IC meeting. Did this mean that the former had been endorsed by P (France) who was the only other representative, following my withdrawal, to participate in the last IC meeting? I protested that what are called minutes of the August meeting are not minutes at all. They do not record attendance, motions, votes, nor is correspondence from the sections attached. I asked why wasn't the Austrian delegate's letter to the August meeting appended, a letter which among other things stated his readiness to participate on the Parity Committee and which contained important information concerning his views on Cuba which are different from those of the SLL.

It was agreed that future minutes would record attendance, all motions, and all votes. All correspondence will be appended except in circumstances where it is exceptionally lengthy when at the discretion of the secretary it will be condensed. That rather than the IC being confronted with detailed resolutions, a policy would be followed of presenting motions that would define a line to be voted upon and later developed into statements, declarations, etc., by designated committees. At this point the secretary agreed to the Austrian delegate's suggestion that the next minutes record three points from his August correspondence that have since been approved by his section.

Report by G (Britain) on the preparations for coming IC World Conference. He proposed that we inform all sections that we should accumulate a fund of \$5,000 to cover costs including fares for some sections, and that the various sections be asked to assume a portion of this sum as their contribution. Unanimous agreement.

Correspondence from Chile. I drew to the attention of the meeting that the secretary had informed me the previous day that one of the four documents from Chile was not available. I asked G if he was aware of its contents. G replied that he was unable to read Spanish and that the one person capable of translation had been unable to translate this in time for the meeting. I told the meeting that fortunately the Chilean comrades had sent copies to NY which were then forwarded to JH. Last night, when I found out what the fourth one contained, JH agreed to pitch in and translate it at once so that the IC could consider it at this meeting in accordance with the wishes of the Chilean comrades. I stated that this was by far the most important of all four documents as it was specifically addressed to this meeting. It was

headed Proposals for the IC meeting at the end of October 1962 -- the words were so easily translatable that at a glance almost anyone would be aware of its contents. I suggested that henceforth it would be well if the secretary were given an idea of the contents of letters as important as this so that in the future we would always be sure of having documents that were specifically addressed to the IC and had to be taken up at a specific meeting. This letter contains a considerable number of important proposals from the Chileans, proposals that must be taken up by this meeting. I handed a copy of the letter to the secretary and with the agreement of the meeting read the letter point by point.

On Point 2. The secretary agreed to write explaining to the Chilean comrades that the actions taken contrary to their proposals had been taken before hearing from them. He would allay their fears that the Pabloists would be able to take advantage of differences within the IC and would tell them that our withholding documents would not prevent the Pabloists from attempting to do so if they thought if possible, many of the differences being already open and in the public press.

On point 2B there was general agreement although C (Britain) and F (France) expressed reservations. F stated that he is opposed to having anything to do with petty-bourgeois intellectuals who seek to identify themselves with the rehabilitation of the Old Man on some kind of moral and ethical plane and not on the basis of his struggle to build the revolutionary vanguard party. C (Britain) suggested he had some reservations about our being ready to "issue joint declarations" with the Pabloists "in the face of every political event of world importance." Now, with reports of the rehabilitation of Bukharin and Radek, G (Britain) stated that he will take this matter up again on the Parity Committee. It had been agreed previously to hold activity along this line in abeyance pending such a development as has now taken place. G said that he would ask for more information on the situation in Peru so that we could take a position on the matters raised.

On Point 3 there was general agreement. The British reported on some documents they are preparing. The Chinese delegate agreed to prepare certain material. The Austrian delegate stressed the desirability of the IC making a counter-statement to the IEC resolution on unification, specifically to that section dealing with the 1953 split.

There was general agreement on the proposal that all international theses should be published and an effort made to meet this obligation. The position of the Chilean section on Cuba and unification was noted. There was general agreement on points 4 and 5 which G (Britain) will deal with in detail the first opportunity he has.

There was a motion by G (Britain) on the date and place of the next IC meeting.

81 Queen St. W.,
Toronto 1, Ont.
Nov. 14th, 1962.

Mary H. Weik,
Box 148,
150 Christopher St.,
New York 14, N.Y., U.S.A.

Dear Miss Weik,

Thank you for your card dated August 16th, and the appreciative note on the Vanguard. We understand that you are most active in the cause of peace. You will be interested in the November issue of the Vanguard in which we report briefly on U.S. pacifist Dave Dillinger, who spoke at a Fair Play for Cuba Committee banquet in Toronto on Nov. 3rd, and which carries news of the protest demonstrations held across Canada, the U.S., England, Algeria, etc. We hope to have more articles on the anti-war sentiment and demonstrations throughout the world and the truth about the Cuban situation in coming issues.

Enclosed also is a complimentary copy of a weekly socialist paper printed by our co-thinkers in the United States, The Militant, in case you are not familiar with it.

Again, thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

(R.D.)

81 Queen St. W.,
Toronto 1, Ont.
Nov. 14, 1962.

Arthur W. Bailey,
5307 Ogden St.,
San Diego 5, Calif.

Dear Mr. Bailey,

Thank you very much for the submission of \$2.00 (\$1.00 for subscription to the Vanguard for one year). We appreciate your donation of one dollar and your concern for our financial solvency. The reason for it is, of course, that we have a great number of Jimmy Higgins and that the Vanguard is written, published and mailed by volunteer labor and contributions such as yours!

I am wondering if you would know Max Armstrong, who was a very vocal member of the Social Democratic Party about the time you were in it? Or Bill Green? Max was pretty active until lately, but has developed a bad heart. Bill Green died about a year ago. He belonged to the League for Socialist Action (which publishes the Vanguard) and toured Canada many times selling Socialist literature and holding meetings. He must probably was up around Rutherglen.

We wonder what you think of Cuba-- the blockade, Algeria, chances for the socialist movement in the U.S. Have you read The Militant (official organ of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.A.)? Their address is: 116 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

We'd appreciate constructive criticism of specific articles in the Vanguard.

Fraternally yours,

November 23, 1962
81 Queen Street West
Toronto

Dear Joe and Reba;

I have a few minutes so I am dropping a line to let you know that I am around still, thinking about you over there and seriously intending to get to writing you at length--even send you a couple of ~~copy~~ reproductions of Chardin.

Finally by staying up until 1:30 the last two nights and getting up again at six I have finished the election manifesto --waiting right now for the proofs. We are behind in our campaign not far off a week but moral is good, lots of young people around and I think we will make up for it. So far we have done a little better than heretofore with radio--no programs but a few short interviews. Six candidates this time but the press insists there are really only two. A big set back in this area--heretofore the labor council has kept mum on the mayoralty. This year they have endorsed one of the Tories--so now we have a labor-Tory running for mayor. Will have to digest the meaning of this development.

Arrived in London after the best political discussion with the persons in my compartment that I had had for many months. Picked up my English tweed suit, phoned Sam then went to the air office. I had made up my mind to stay a couple of days in England to see GH, Brian P., possibly Arnold Wesker then go to Ireland. The fellow is arranging the Irish flight when he notes my ticket is a propeller job. There are no propeller planes leaving Ireland for Canada at this time of the year so if I wished to go to Ireland it would be a side trip. So I then tell him make it Scotland--I will stop off there and then go onto Canada. Alas. There are practically no propeller planes flying the Atlantic at this time of the year and those that do are jammed. In fact there is a prop plane leaving tonight and there won't be another for 5 days. He was not at all sure whether I would be able to get on tonight's plane if I wanted to. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~. He phoned--yes he could. What to do. By then I had about three pounds, I owe Sam about 12. So I booked in for that night's plane. Shoved off and spent the late morning and full afternoon with Sam then shook the dust of Europe off my shoes.

So I didn't see GH, BP--didn't do anything that you and I anticipated. So what has to be done is all yours.

As soon as I arrived here in Toronto I phoned FD. Said it was not possible to arrange anything until Thursday night. So I went home to bed. In the interim between then and NY tried without success to pick up some lumps of money, got things rolling a bit so we could enter the elections. Surprise--I was already committed. They had put out a leaflet and distributed it to the council and had raised the matter of my endorsement from the floor. What with this commitment and the crisis I felt there just was no alternative but to go in regardless of lack of preparation. Took the bus Thursday morning with the parting message that all the municipal material of the past 4 months had to be gathered for me to run through on return. Had a talk Thursday night with F, T, and a West coaster G. ~~Friday~~ afternoon spent an hour with Tim and Friday night met the gang. Another talk with the three Saturday afternoon then took the plane back to give a five hour report here Sunday afternoon. Monday at ten was nomination meeting--and gave a fifteen minute speech in the city hall chambers--haven't been able to stop much for anything since. I am speaking at the forum tonight.

Lots of things happening. Last weekend saw a big purge from the NDP youth on the West Coast-- Generally things are fairly good here--a few errors. Everyone was so concerned about the banquet to be held a week after the climax that nothing serious was done to meet the climax. V.O. wouldn't move out and so the LSA sat. But not in Vancouver--moved out marvellously--but that it probably what brought things to a head with the NDP youth. Sad but when you defend a revolution many conclude that it is because you are a revolutionary. Almost through a provocative leaflet lost our key delegate to the labor council. But all in all things are good--modest gains and it is apparent that there has been considerable individual growth.

But as I say I will be sending you a letter in the next week I hope--election day is December 3rd

Warmest regards

Ross

Sam thought it was too much trouble to make coffee with the machine--a terrible degeneration for an American--so it is back here. The David had his feet broken off in transit. The photos I took in Florence were first rate--color. entering the Grand Canal shot taken in Venice in the next contest

Strike a blow against discrimination in housing by demanding that the provincial government apply its Fair Accommodation and Practices Act to all rental space and not stop at apartment buildings of more than six units, as is now the case.

Tax the Greedy, Not the Needy

4 Taxation has become a crushing burden on the small homeowner. The biggest portion comes from the increasing costs of education born by the municipality. Education facilities and standards should have nothing to do with the ability or inability of a community to raise funds. The cost of education should be taken over by higher levels of government.

There are properties with an assessed value of hundreds of millions of dollars that are now exempt. These exemptions, many of which were cavalierly granted by various Big Business administrations, should all be examined and the bulk of them cancelled.

At long last city council has moved to recover the \$171,000 that the posh Royal York hotel has been exempted from paying through a business tax deal. There are many other deals such as the one worked out with that profit gorged monopoly, the Bell Telephone company. This deal commits the city treasurer to make Bell what is in essence a contribution from the taxpayers to the tune of \$67,782 this year and an estimated \$250,000 in 1963. Shift the tax burden off the small homeowner onto those who can best pay—the wealthy corporations.

For a Labor Mayor

5 "I don't attend demonstrations—and I don't take sides" said Mayor Phillips to an invitation from striking Tannery workers to observe a demonstration in support of their struggle.

The strikers have been trudging the picket line since June in an attempt to establish their rights against this wealthy corporation. The lines are drawn. Which side are you on? Mr. Phillips' statement puts him squarely on the side of low wages and scab labor.

Mouthing the same argument but under considerable more pressure from the CPR oligopoly to expose his position, Mr. Phillips scurried through the underpass to break through the picket line that circled the Royal York for 50 weeks.

When challenged over his strike-breaking act at the Royal York, Phillips said "I'd do it again." The citizens of Toronto should make sure that he never does it again by flinging out of office all the Tories and Liberals who place the political powers of civic office at the service of the economic royalists in the community.

For a New Democrat Council

6 The Tory and Liberal parties of Big Business dominate Toronto civic politics. With the aid of all the organs of communication they are perpetuating the myth that party politics, which rule on the federal and the provincial field, suddenly disappear at the municipal level of government.

With this hoax they hope to confuse the electorate, to prevent a break-through of the New Democratic Party on the municipal level, and so maintain their positions as servants and instruments of the business interests Ontario NDP leader Donald MacDonald, in a speech to the Metro Toronto NDP convention recently, stated that "I don't need to tell you there has always been a significant body of opinion within the CCF and now the NDP urging that we bring an end to this hypocrisy."

Some 24% of those having the federal franchise in the Metro area voted NDP last summer. But the Toronto leadership of the NDP has failed to follow the suggestion of its provincial leader in this election. It has failed to pose the possibility of a NDP municipal government by failing to present an NDP slate.

Even worse, the leadership of the Toronto District Labor Council has broken with its long-standing rule of endorsing only CCF (NDP) or labor affiliated candidates. Their new formula of endorsing candidates "who have a commendable record" has resulted in a recommended list that spans Liberals, Tories and NDPers. While rejecting the Tory chairman of the last Board of Control, Nathan Phillips, the labor brass have pushed through an endorsement of Tory leader Donald Summerville.

But the record leaves no doubt that the past vice chairman of the Board of Control differed in no way on any question of any importance at all with the chairman.

The misleaders of organized labor in Metro Toronto are dragging the rank and file into the popularity contest being conducted by the daily press. Which to choose—between two Tories—one who they have designated as a Labor-Tory?

In this situation the League for Socialist Action has decided to assume the responsibility of upholding the principle of independent labor political action by sponsoring Ross Dowson for mayor. By so doing the LSA is providing the tens of thousands of NDP supporters an opportunity to cast a mayoralty ballot. Through this campaign the LSA hopes to undo much of the harm that the labor brass has done through its criminal policies. At the same time the LSA hopes to project before new layers of workers the pressing need for a New Democratic Party government, a labor government in the municipal arena, in the provinces and in Ottawa.

VOTE YES FOR FLUORIDATION

MEET Ross Dowson

Born in Toronto 45 years ago Ross Dowson has been an active participant in the labor and socialist movement since graduating from York Memorial Collegiate in the depths of the depression. Swept into the army with his generation he played a significant role in the struggle against the autocratic actions of the Canadian army brass. At one time a machinist and a member of the Steelworkers union he has for some years now worked as a labor journalist. He is editor of the socialist monthly *The Workers Vanguard*. He has contested the Toronto mayoralty on several occasions, once polling almost 24,000 votes. In 1957 he contested the federal riding of Hastings-Frontenac against Tory External Affairs Minister Sydney Smith.

What Is The LSA?

The League is an association of Canadian working men and woman and youth who look to socialism as the crucial question and the big opportunity of our times. We seek to organize a new society of democracy, freedom and brotherhood.

Thanks to the tremendous industrial plant, the high productivity and the democratic experiences and traditions that exist in Canada, we see socialism developing free from the horrors of Stalinism, the bureaucracy and dictatorship that arose in the Soviet bloc countries and which now, through their own efforts, the Soviet peoples are getting rid of.

We see this socialist society arising out of the day to day struggles of the great majority of the Canadian working people in the defence and extension of their interests and against the ruinous economic and political domination of the tiny capitalist class. It lies in the unions, in the struggle for higher wages, shorter hours, better conditions, jobs for all; in the New Democratic Party and the efforts of many rank and file activists to win this party to a class struggle program and a socialist objective.

For further information write us or phone us at 81 Queen Street West, Toronto, EM. 6-1454.

Read The VANGUARD

A Monthly Journal that fights all year round for this program.

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1962

VOTE

SOCIALIST

Elect



ROSS

DOWSON

MAYOR

Sponsored by
The League for Socialist Action
81 Queen St., West, Toronto

...THE ISSUE IS SURVIVAL ITSELF

Is there any doubt that on the very eve of this election the entire world was thrust right up to the brink of a nuclear disaster?

Within two days almost 2,000 persons called Metropolitan Toronto's Emergency Measures Organization with desperate pleas for help. The enquirers — some of them weeping over the peril confronting their families — were sent a pamphlet through the mail. EMO spokesman D.L. Burtleson told the press that preparations had been made to remove civic leaders to Newmarket and Aurora. Metro area school boards distributed transistor radios for communication should the bomb fall, held additional fire drills, and circulated tracts to terrified parents suggesting arrangements were being made to look after their children.

When President Kennedy, head of the most powerful state in the world, which is armed to the teeth with nuclear devices of every description, imposed a blockade on tiny Cuba with the scare charge that it had become a military menace to the US, he subjected every Canadian, the entire world, without so much as a by-your-leave, to the gravest threat of nuclear destruction yet perpetrated by the US ruling class.

Cuba, which has a right to defend its national sovereignty by any means it desires, is not a threat to the people of Canada. All the Cubans seek is to be left alone, to plan their economy, to eliminate unemployment, build homes, spread education — to complete their social revolution. It is the profoundly democratic character of this socialist revolution and their fear of its example to the peoples of Latin America that caused the capitalist rulers of America and their Canadian junior partners to embark on their reckless adventure. And that is why the danger of another series of moves against Cuba and the threat of a nuclear war still hangs over the world, over every citizen of Metro Toronto.

What did the administration at city hall do in this time of peril. Within hours of Kennedy's declaration that US forces would fire on ships of other nations which refuse to submit to search and seizure, Mayor Phillips was participating in the observance of the 17th anniversary of the United Nations Organization which Kennedy so casually ignored. The mayor told luncheon guests that "although all hope that a conflagration which could well destroy civilization will be avoided the consensus

of free men seems to be that if a showdown is necessary they will take the consequences."

He preached submission, acceptance of "the consequences," acceptance of death and destruction in a nuclear holocaust. This is the mayor who heads a flock of candidates who claim that the issues in this election are off-street parking, sidewalk repair, the sale of small Home-town Bonds to help finance Toronto's development. When the very existence of Toronto itself, every structure, every human being, is at stake.

This is the supreme issue confronting the people of Toronto! The issue is survival itself! It is the choice between capitalism or socialism, between the destruction of all the past achievements of mankind or the construction, on the foundations of man's accumulated wealth, of a new society of peace and plenty!

Any civic figure worthy of support would have endorsed the protests of a group of University of British Columbia professors before a mass rally of some 5,000 students; he would have joined picket lines that appeared before the US consulate; he would have expressed his solidarity with the 200 strong delegation of the Voice of Women and the delegation of CNLD students who went to Ottawa to appeal to the Diefenbaker government not to nuclear arm Canadian forces. He would have underscored NDP leader T.C. Douglas' first protests that the US endangered world peace with its quarantine on Cuba. He would have exposed all the efforts of EMO as a fraud and a hoax designed to lull the population into acceptance of the idea of a nuclear war.

That is what an administration that claimed to represent the people would have done—it would have done everything possible to give expression to the fervent pleas that there be no nuclear war, would have mobilized these forces into effective actions against Canadian preparation to participate in such a war. It would have voted against any further expenditures of funds for EMO, it would demand Canadian withdrawal from the NATO military alliance. It would call for and carry out in the Metro arena a popular referendum on the question of whether Canada should be nuclear armed.

The overriding issue in this election is survival itself. A vote for Dowson is a vote against war, against nuclear destruction; for mankind, for the future!

For Low Cost Housing

1 According to city hall's own specialists there must be 2,000 units of low rental housing built each year for the next 18 years. Yet Metro Council set itself only a 1,000 unit quota four years ago and in the intervening period has come through with a miserable 38 units. This year only 150 units will be ready and next year a mere 347 units at the most.

Why is there such an incredible gap between need and the performance of the city hall administration? Both Mayor Phillips and Controller Sommerville have made it crystal clear. Both are opposed to subsidized housing. Both are for what is called private enterprise, or capitalist developments. Yet every authority in the field knows that without subsidization there will be no housing for a large layer of the population as there is little profit in the type of housing they can afford.

Instead of building houses for working people the real estate and mortgage interests have continued to build expensive apartment projects. Because of high rentals many of these units remain empty. But while it opposes subsidizing housing for workers the administration is subsidizing high rental apartments, thus sustaining the high rents and encouraging building capital to remain in this field.

There is no answer to the housing shortage and the high cost of housing in Toronto, the highest in the country, but through the subsidization of low cost, low rental housing projects. Such projects must be got underway

For a Metro Medicare Plan

2 Canada is one of the few advanced countries in the world without a national health plan. In the face of a formidable combination of the medical hierarchy, the provincial Liberal Party machine and Social Credit, the Big Business press, radio and TV, the Saskatchewan CCF-NDP government succeeded last summer in breaking through to establish the first health plan. So desperate is the need to rip down the dollar signs that prevent the full utilization of the accumulated knowledge of medical science, and so intransigent in opposition are the medical hierarchy and their Big Business associates, that an important section of the Toronto labor movement is preparing to go ahead with its own medical care program.

Given direction by the people, Metro Council can institute a comprehensive health plan which, in agreement with the TDLC, could encompass their plan and take in all the residents of the Toronto area who number many more than the entire population of Saskatchewan.

Such a plan, to ensure its efficient operation, would require the municipality to take under public ownership

all the major hospitals in the Toronto area. They properly belong to the people. Between 1954-58 the public treasury subsidized hospital construction to the tune of almost 8 million dollars, and the hospitals continue to rely heavily on donations from the public.

The citizens of Toronto have a right to all that medical science can provide. To win a medical care program cast your ballot for Dowson as mayor and vote for all NDP candidates. A big vote for a Metro health plan would be a powerful lever to win a national health plan.

For Free Speech, Civil Rights

3 There is no freedom of speech in Toronto—for minority opinion—and that is the only real measure in such matters. This was clearly revealed in the arrest and the sentence to imprisonment or payment of a fine imposed on an advocate of nuclear disarmament for speaking in a downtown public park.

The fact that a civic by-law requires possession of a permit and that there are circumstances for which no permit will be granted is a declaration by the administration that they consider free speech not a right but a privilege—one subject to their control.

This by-law is a clear violation of the so-called Bill of Rights, but it remains on the books. It is being enforced right now against a group of citizens who have been so responsible as to challenge it.

First item before the new administration must be the repeal of this restrictive by-law. Assure this by rolling up a big vote behind Dowson.

There have been many cases of police arrogance and molesting of citizens. One of the more recent sharply brought to the attention of the public was the illegal arrest and the assaulting of Rabbi Norbert Weiner.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchers Workmen of North America (AFL-CIO) have charged police intimidation of their members who have been on strike since last June against A.R. Clarke tannery. On one occasion they charge there were several policemen at the plant gates when there were only 8 strikers manning the picket line. Over 150 uniformed and plain clothes policemen, some mounted on horses, ganged up on a demonstration called in solidarity with the strikers by the labor council. As chief magistrate for which he receives an extra \$5,000 a year to bring his wages up to a total of \$24,800, Mayor Phillips bears a particular responsibility. Instead of using his high office to curb police arrogance and intimidation he has not so much as uttered a word of protest. He has condoned it and thereby forfeits the support of any voter who seeks to maintain our hard won civil rights.

A Challenge

NW, 962
26, 1962

I, mayoralty candidate Ross Dowson, challenge the members of the Political Education Committee of the Toronto & District Labor Council, and any of the executive members or the leaders of the New Democratic Party associated with the policy they are pursuing in this year's municipal election, to a public debate.

I challenge them to explain, to defend, the reversal in political action policy that they shoved through the October 4th meeting of the Labor Council and that finds the council endorsing as candidates worthy of trade union support a leader in the Tory political machine for the highest post in civic office along with a prominent Liberal for Board of Control.

The Canadian Labor Congress and the Ontario Federation of Labor to which the Toronto council is affiliated have both endorsed the New Democratic Party as the political arm of labor. Some locals represented on the council are actually affiliated to the NDP. The council itself has endorsed the NDP as its political arm and heretofore withheld its endorsement from anyone seeking Toronto municipal office other than CCFers (NDP) or persons endorsed by their local.

The PEC, by slipping through the motion to support "candidates who had a commendable record with regards to the community welfare as a whole and who have taken a consistently progressive stand on municipal issues", which opened the way to endorsement of Controller Summerville, one of the two Tory candidates for Mayor, has completely reversed its own position and violated the political action policy of both the OFL and the CLC. It did so in a routine meeting without notice of motion and without proper debate. It has since utilized funds contributed by unionists in the Toronto area, on the basis of its past policy of support of the CCF and now the NDP, for the support of members of both the Liberal and Tory machines.

In such a debate I will defend the past policy of the council which was based on long-standing experiences that prove that both the Progressive Conservative Party and the Liberal Party are parties of the business interests, that labor requires a political party of its own, and that the New Democratic Party is such a party.

I will contend that to support the Tories or Liberals at any level, including the municipal level of their political machines, is to practise company unionism at the ballot box — is tantamount to scabbing at the ballot box.

I will challenge, even on their own grounds as outlined in the ominous October 4th resolution, that Controller Summerville has a commendable record with regards to community welfare, or taken a consistently progressive stand on municipal affairs. I will argue that Controller Summerville, aside from having a pivotal position in the anti-labor Diefenbaker national apparatus, has a record on city council that differs in no fundamental way on any question of any importance with the more transparently infamous record of Mayor Phillips. I will argue that he is a Tory plain and simple and not some kind of new species that can be called a Labor-Tory.

I will contend that the action sponsored by the PEC is a betrayal of all the aspirations and high hopes of the rank and file of the organized labor movement in this country and must be rejected — not only on election day December 3rd, but formally at a future meeting of the council.

I will leave the place of the debate to the discretion of the PEC or council executive. The time is to be between now and election day. I will guarantee to cover all costs connected with such a debate.

November 26th, 1962.

ROSS DOWSON, Mayoralty Candidate sponsored by
The League for Socialist Action, 81 Queen St. W. Toronto.

81 Queen St. West,
Toronto 1, Ont.
Nov. 28, 1962.

The Editor,
The Toronto Telegram

Dear Sir,

On Tuesday evening I managed to make three of the meetings that you list in your paper as "Election Meetings" where city and suburban candidates for municipal office will speak."

Only at one, held by the St. Pauls Conservative Association at the Park Plaza Hotel, was I provided an opportunity to speak. Officials at the other two meetings informed me that they were open to candidates by invitation only and I was not invited.

From the way these meetings are listed in your column, citizens would assume that they are open to all candidates for municipal office. They could only draw false conclusions as to the failure of certain candidates to appear there.

To keep the record straight I would think that your staff should enquire as to the character of the meetings in this respect before listing them as you are doing.

Sincerely,

Ross Dowson
Candidate for Mayor

81 Queen Street West
December 1, 1962

Gwen MacEwen

91 Hazleton (Toronto)

Sorry to be so long in answering your welcome note and enclosure of a few weeks back. Possibly you have guessed as to the delay--we have been tied up in knots with our election campaign. The opportunity comes only once in two years and what with the experience that arose around Kennedy's arrogant blockade of Cuba we felt that we must put every ounce of our energy into the campaign.

Well it is now almost over--hope to get in on the TV election night--the next day speak at Ryerson on Marxism and its validity today --then go to see Milton that evening. I was glad to hear from Al Purdy that you have been up to see him. I understand he is still in bad shape. Not much of a cheer-leader but may be able to give him a little help.

Read the contribution from Jona with considerable interest. Very good. Haven't got to work on the next issue yet but if it doesn't make this issue it will make the next. Looking forward to meeting the authro in the flesh and you too again--say at the Friday forum.

fraternally

Ross Dowson

December 9, 1962
taking up from December 4

Dear Ernie; (late, Vancouver)

I am enclosing a letter to the comrade who did the linoleum blocks that you sent on to Cliff. This comrade could make a real contribution and I hope you will do what you can to encourage him. I also sent you a parcel of IB's a few days ago. There are a couple of gaps in them as we do not have a complete file here yet. I have ordered more and will fill in the ones I was unable to send you when they arrive. I dropped Joe and Reba a line about my trip back after I left them and my discussion in NY and they wrote me that they would be leaving for Algeria in a few days having finished a lengthy reply to Healy's document on the SWP betrayal of Trotskyism and going over to Pablism. I don't know when the south will get that out --he says it is very bulky and they are a way behind in IB's as you will have noticed. They are short staffed. I am anticipating its arrival. I doubt that you have received the SWP betrayal document unless George B sent it on. I did not have a copy myself until yesterday. It came into the mail the other day along with the first batch of material that the IC-PEC Parity Committee agreed to circulate for the international discussion. We will be having a PC meeting probably tomorrow night in order to discuss how we will handle this material, the call for the IC world conference referred to in my version of what took place in the Paris IC meeting just before I left. and the difficulties over the handling of the expulsions in your neck of the woods--that is if the letter Ruth promised us arrives in time.

I have just sent off in the mail a reply to Ruth's letter with regards to the opposition to the Vanguard publishing anything on the expulsions. I gather from her wire she means everything--not just the formal statement but your article.. I took modest exception to certain comments in her letter . She wrote ~~xxxxxx xxxxxxxx~~

"We are somewhat outraged at your suggestion this should have been an NC matter since it was never on that level before. We think it very wrong to apparently lightly toss it to that plane. If you refer to the Toronto minutes you will see the parting of the ways came owing to domestic difficulties and was without prejudice as to his return!" ~~WAXWAXE~~ This is referring to Skoglund. One day we are told he will be attending the next meeting--and have we any objections. I drop everything and ~~reply~~ have a reply in the mail in two hours. What arrogance--"outraged" "apparently lightly toss it to that plane." Of course Skoglund resigned and his reapplication according to the constitution must go before the NC. He also resigned under the worst possible circumstances. He walked out at a crucial circumstance--when he and he alone had the key connection in carrying out a grand maneuver with McDougal.

We havent yet got an inch forward in the discussion we asked be launched on the strategy to be followed in the expulsions. But for your letter we would have no real idea at all of the problems involved and of course I have no intention of referring to your letter. But maybe tomorrow. Did Ruth show you the letter I had sent them and asked them to show to the NC members?

Read about Joe's sentence--Ken's and your release

That is a hell of a sentence they handed Joe. Glad to hear that it is being appealed--I suppose the union is handling the matter. That was a foul job that Strachan did --really suprised that he went so far as to mark out Lebourdais and Braaten. I would suppose there is hell to pay in some of the clubs. I recall that even among the left there were illusions about Strachan when I was there last.

Read your letter to Cliff about the need to develop a national consciousness in the party. All that you said of course is true. But Cliff has to come a long long way to meet the immediate tasks that confront him. He really pitched in here but ~~inexperienced~~ but is he inexperienced insensitivie and slip shod. We truly did wonders as it was while I was away. As soon as we get a few more of the many think-ers that piled up cleared away I will be going about systematically with developing the movement as a national movement. We wont be able to get onto this until after the New Year. We are also going to have to play a more important role in the international.--the tour was just a start. Joe thinks that I should go over to England for an extensive period. In fact I had a hard time leaving when I did --he kept holding onto me --I was all set to leave when he insisted that it was necessary that I go to Zurich then stay for the IC meeting. There are tremendous problems and tremendous responsibilities. My presence in Eurppe turned out to be essential. For you see there is not going to be a reunification of the movement but a realignment of the forces of the movement. It will be essential that one of us go over this coming Spring. ..probably me. ~~Theremux~~ The situation in England is very complex and there are tremdnous possibilities. Joe suggests that we here should set up a sort of Commonwealth office--working the commonwealth connction so to speak--Br, Australia, Ireland etc. and probably we will. I am going to have to enter into the international political discussion.too...formally too.

In order to do this we are going to have to shake up our forces. Have had a couple of discussions with Dick. He is agreed to utilize the academic opportunities beofre him to go through law. Possibly this will take him to Montreal. In many ways not good ~~but~~ we are going to have to draw him into the cadre. The more I see and hear him the more impressed I am. Havent had a chance to get to know John since he has returned but he was asking me the other day if we could have a lengthy talk shortly. We are going to have to develop some of this youthful material really pull them in to become theoreticians. Dick has apparently made up his mind about his purpose--the lawyer idea of course gives us a technician that we will have use for and if necessary from time to time should we be unable to finance ourselves allow him to make a living. Besides he can become a real influence in student circles which are going to become more important not less. As times. Gordon R appears to be developing rapidly too.

While I am astounded by our inexperience, our naivete and amateurishness I am also impressed with our possibilities--that we have the makings of a cadre--a real cadre. And when I saw and heard about the various sections of the world movement I was impressed how well we have done in many ways despite everything. Most of the sections are in a bad way and this whole move to realigne them comes just in time. GH who is the most favorably situated of anyone in the contient could play a real role but he is really missing the boat.

In the next month we should start to solve some of the problems that confront us in Vancouver

What about the natl convention? I think we should hold it late or mid March before the IC world conference.--probably in Vancouver.

One of the key items would be my report on the world movement and the reunification. We will have to prepare other documents too. What do you think we need.

And how about Branch one. Claire got a letter from KG about the expulsions being the fruit of the orientation put forward by myself. not our defence of the Cuban revolution etc. How do you think we should handle them? What is the feeling in the branch and what is the feeling in Number one. We haven't heard from number one for sometime, however I have neglected to answer their last letter of sometime back. Are they going to appeal. Peng with whom the three Chinese and Bill are in contact on the very last day cautiously, very chinese like raised the matter. He ~~thinks~~ suggested that we should try to get back to the status quo ante. ~~THEY WOULD NOT BE IN THE POSITION TO DO SO~~ I would suppose they still exist as a group--essentially Trotskyist...regardless of the many valid criticisms that can be made. ~~DO NOT THINK THEY WOULD BE IN THE POSITION TO DO SO~~ I would like your considered opinion

Are you on the branch executive? --is that what Ruth refers to when she reports a four to one vote on the expulsion document decision --whether we should publish it or not. What do you think about the Vancouver NC members meeting and sending the PC their a report of their opinions on this matter and also from time to time.

I was almost going to say in a patronizing way that when I read the letter you sent in on how you responded to the Cuban-US crisis that I was real proud of you. Really inspiring. Since the executive was not meeting for a while I took it upon myself to present it to the Toronto branch with their individual agreement for their information. Everyone was stimulated. In fact it was a good lesson for Toronto for their response was not at all good and they have learned thereby.

But I must get away again

affectionately

Ross

If you have personal correspondence for me I think that it is best that you send it to 90 Carlton Street Apt 605. Cliff and Gerry open the mail these days and there may be times when we should discuss things that there is no value in their going very far. Neither of these two have a very mature judgement. in my opinion.

81 Queen Street West
December 10, 1962

Edmonton

Dear Comrade Colwyn

It was a pleasure upon my return from England to hear of you station away up there in the northlands. I have been intending to write you for sometime but the pressure of many matters has delayed me from doing so. Indeed this note is by no means the way that I wanted to take things up --it too is a rush job hoping that you will prove able to give us some aid--rapidly.

Today I sent off in the mail a copy of a press release on the expulsions of 11 youth from the NDP for their associations with the LSA. We have held up this issue of the paper because of a big debate that we have been conducting with leftists elements who we hope to involve in this struggle over our tactics. Now that the whole story has broke over their heads we want to move and move fairly fast. We are now going to press--this issue is going to be largely devoted to giving direction to a struggle against the brass and in defence of left wing formations in the NDP.

Edmonton is the scene of the Woodsworth-Irvine Fellowship. We of course know considerable about its weak points. But its existence at this time is very valuable to us. I am wondering if you could sit down and jot down some information about the Fellowship--has it got a declaration of purpose, has it published anything, what has it done over the past short while that could be usefully reported in our paper to give a little breadth to our concept of the right of dissident groups to exist in the NDP. It is probable that it has done little which could be considered significant--in fact some of its adherents have positively reactionary attitudes to the trade union movement etc. But anything you could send us would be much appreciated. We do not care if it is handwritten or typed, whether the material is worked up or just notes. even no matter how fragmentary it is. I am enclosing a self addressed envelop

Will write later

fraternally

December 24, 1962

G. Preston
Secretary of
The International Committee of the Fourth International

Dear Comrade

The Canadian section has received ^{word of} ~~word of~~ the calling of an International Congress of the International Committee in April next year with great satisfaction. It is our intention to help make this conference a qualitative leap forward towards the unification of the forces of world Trotskyism. It is with this aim that we will be sending representation there.

While we have received the correspondence dated November 23 touching on an aspect of one item among the several taken up at the International Committee meeting of October 27-28 we have not yet received a copy of the minutes or the statement that our representative there asked be attached to these minutes. Comrade Dowson has brought to our attention that representation and voting rights established at that meeting were contrary to the ruling adopted by the International Congress of June, 1958. Clause 9 of the "Function of the International Committee" states that "The International Committee shall be composed of one representative from each participating section."

(1) We want a clear understanding now as to the basis of representation to this International Congress. It is our position that representation to this World Congress must be on the terms of the 1958 agreement and that voting must be in accordance with this agreement. That is—one representative from each section and one vote to each section.

We are also disturbed by what we consider to be the factional use that the representatives of the British have made of the security question. (2) We want a clear understanding now that the security needs of the various sections as they see them will be scrupulously honored. This could be met by a guarantee now that there will be in attendance at this conference no more than two representatives from any one section. This would allow one voting delegate plus an alternate.

Assuming that there is solid agreement on the above two points we would question the need to raise a fund of \$5,000 to cover the expenses of the International Conference.

While the Canadian section laid out considerable funds to participate in two International Committee meetings last Fall we are prepared to finance our own representation to the April Conference. We would take it for granted that all the European affiliates will meet their own expenses. This would leave at most four or five sections with expenses of any considerable amount. We have no information as to their capacity to finance their own expenses other than that the Chilean comrades have already signified ability to meet their own expenses-plus.

Since the number attending the conference, even with representation from every affiliate, will be quite small, the facilities required will be modest. The expenses of the conference are largely travelling and billeting costs. We propose that we arrive at an understanding that each section cover its own expenses. Should this not be possible in some cases, then we propose that the I.C. find temporary means to advance the necessary funds to those requiring aid and that this amount be met by contributions from those sections having the lowest costs and the greatest resources. The I.C. can rest assured that the Canadian section will meet any and all obligations in this respect to ~~ensure~~ guarantee that the attendance and functioning of the World Conference will be satisfactory to all.

fraternally

Ross Dowson
for the Canadian P.C.

December 26, 1962

Dear Farrell *(Dotts, SWP)*

I finally got the letter off to GH the other day. I sent a copy off ~~him~~ to you and Jim at the same time. I am holding off sending anything to Joe until I hear that he is back in Paris. From a post card I gather that J and R will be on a boat leaving the south today. I think that the letter is substantially what we wanted --hope you agree that it serves our purposes.

We have received copies of the first documents being put into circulation by the Parity Committee. As you recall they are ;

- 1 Intl Bulletin No 9 put out by SLL with the Trotskyism Betrayed
- 2 World Prospect of Socialism--SLL resolution item
- 3 F.I. containing the documents of the 6th World Congress.

I wonder if you could let us know shortly how you are handling this material. Are you circulating the Trotskyism Betrayed article in your bulletin along with Joe's reply? If you were this would save us doing anything about publishing it on this side. We have sufficient copies of item no.2 to send copies to our members at large and meet our branch demand. As for No 3--this is a tremendous task. We are thinking of reproducing the Political Document--The World Situation and Our Tasks.

fraternally

Ross

81 Queen Street W
Toronto
December 27, 1962

Hannah Lerner

Dear Hannah

Thanks for the card from the Vienna Gallery. I take it that Vienna postcards like everything else come to New York for I didn't see you in Vienna when I was there this fall. Of course I was only there for about 48 hours. I took a grand tour of the main centers after having spent about a month in Paris and about a month in Southern England.

Then I too landed up in New York--again for a short time with no opportunity for side visits...as I had been committed in my absence to run for Mayor--then no sooner that than there is a big purge in BC and now after the Saturday demonstration against nuclear arms I am up for causing a public disturbance through shouting. But honest I was an innocent bystander. All I did was walk across the street a diversion from my progress to Simpsons, to tell the gang that the demonstration looked good--when weng. In the roughhouse they wrecked a terrific color shot I took of Michelangelo's David--I was off to get it framed.

We didn't give any of the details about the arrests at the Allied picket line in Vancouver in our last issue but Three of us among them a certain E. Tate were up. Ernie beat the wrap but one got six months and another \$100 fine.

And so it goes up here in the northlands--and a happy coming year to you too

warmest regards

Ross